

INSIDE: A GROWING ALARM OVER INFLATION

Maclean's

MAY 23, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

\$2

TRIUMPH OF AN 'OUTCAST'

—
**Canadian Architect
Moshe Safdie
Inside His New
National Gallery**



THE DARK TASTE
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A RICH CARIBBEAN TASTE WITH THE SMOOTHNESS OF BACARDI.

Maclean's

MAY 22, 1986, VOL. 131 NO. 22

COVER

Triumph of an 'outcast'

After his revolutionary 1987 housing project, Blais, brought his international renown, Canadian architect Moshe Safdie was controversial abroad—but not at home. Now, however, he is emerging as the master builder of Canadian cultural institutions—including his sprawling new National Gallery of Canada, which has its official opening this week. —Page 39

COVER PHOTO BY MICHAEL TOLSON/GETTY IMAGES



An election call on hold

Belittled by a series of controversies, Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan now appears unlikely to call the election that appeared to be imminent just weeks ago. —Page 19



A new inflation alarm

Latest rates moved higher in the United States last week as new concerns over inflation pushed stock markets around the world into a sudden dive. —Page 26



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The battle for Punjab

During a reign of terror by Sikh separatists, gun battles broke out between radicals and Indian troops at the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Sikhism's holiest shrine. —Page 18



Lullabies in birdland

This spring the growing number of watchers in the woods underlines the emergence of birding as one of the nation's favorite recreational activities. —Page 43

A feeling of despair

The article "Where will the revolt end?" (World/COVER, April 18) and its portrayal of the current unrest left me with a true feeling of despair in the pit of my stomach. The Israeli government's insistence on combating terrorists and its stance with rubber bullets and live ammunition has gone too far. More and more, our Prime Minister's comments last year that the Israeli government was "showing restraint" are an embarrassment to Canada and its democratic values. While Canada's image as a middle power may not carry much weight on the international scene, our government must come out and declare the heavy-handed manner by which Israel is quelling these protests and attempt to push the opposing factions into solving this problem by fully supporting U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's efforts in the peace process.

—WALTER D. HENDERMAN,
Portage La Prairie, Man.

Publishing the truth

Regarding Diane Francis's "Warning up to fight the chills" (Column, March 26), the freedom of the press has never included the right to print defamatory material. Journalists and publishers have a obligation, if they write and publish stories that contain derogatory references, to be certain that they write and publish the truth and that they can prove it. It is not that a journalist is "guilty until he proves himself innocent," as the journalist claimed; proof must be published, then certainly he knows he has chosen a dangerous course when he



As hostile protesters: unrest

role people of their reputations. Ms. Francis complains that even if the journalist can prove the truth, this involves him and his publisher in "considerable expense and headache." Perhaps Ms. Francis would take a moment to look at the other side—the expense and headache of the plaintiff whose reputation has been stolen from him and who must pay the costs of his lawsuit from his own pocket in an attempt to restore it. What Ms. Francis has forgotten to mention is that newspapers and magazines are almost invariably covered by insurance. Ms. Francis describes as "obviously unfair" the law that requires defendants to prove that what they said about the plaintiff is in fact true or fair comment. If journalists are not to be held responsible, then what will stop them from publishing or repeating scandalous stories told to them by people who have no sense of responsibility or who themselves may be acting out of malice.

—ALBERT BERTHELEMAN,
Toronto

Re-creating history

I appreciate your article "Free trade's real grandfather" (Business Watch, April 18). Although Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government did fall on the trade issue in 1921, I am proud to have been present (as U.S. ambassador to Canada, 1981-1985) at the re-creation of this initiative that is as important to both countries I hope and believe that the measure will pass both houses of both countries. I do not foresee any organized opposition along political lines in the United States.

—EVAN H. BERNHARDT, JR.
Chicago

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, addresses and telephone numbers. Most correspondence is referred to the Editor. *Maclean's* magazine: *Maclean's* Periodicals, 777 King St., Toronto, Ont. M4W 1A7.

PASSAGES

ACQUITTED Judge Harold Gyles, 60, Manitoba's former chief provincial court judge, after a one-day trial on charges of attempting to obstruct justice. Justice Sidney Schwartz of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench ruled that Gyles had not acted illegally when discussing a friend's traffic violation with the magistrate who was to consider the case.

DEED British double agent Harold (Kini) Philby, 76, who fled to the Soviet Union in 1950 just as his role as a Communist spy was about to become public in Moscow. Soviet officials in London, who disclosed Philby's death, gave no reason for it. Born into an upper-class British family, Philby worked his way into the highest ranks of British intelligence while working for three decades for the Soviets. His disloyalty resulted in the deaths of many Western agents and anti-Communist conspirators. In 1951 Philby married two other double agents, Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, both now dead, that they were about to be interrogated by British counterintelligence officers, allowing them to escape to Moscow.

1969 Lyricist Armandus just trumpeter and singer Clint Baker, 58, after a fall from a second-floor Amsterdam hotel room window. After a successful career in the 1950s and 1960s, during which he played with Stan Getz, Charlie Parker, Gerry Mulligan and Ross Freeman, Baker added belated to a self-declared career in the 1970s and only returned to his career in 1979. Baker police said that it was not clear whether Baker's fall was accidental or whether he had jumped.

RETIRED South African-born middle-distance runner Zola Budd, 21, who became a British citizen in 1984 so that she could compete in the Los Angeles Olympics, from international competition after complaining of what she described as "terrible exhaustion." Budd has been the target of anti-sportswoman activities who say that she violated International Amateur Athletic Federation regulations by appearing at a meet in South Africa a year ago. Budd denied that she had broken any rules.

SUSPENDED Canadian soccer star Cliff Thorburn, 48, from the next 190 world-rank snooker tournaments, for failing a World Professional Billiards and Snooker Association medical drug test. Thorburn, who now lives in England, was also fined \$25,000 after a test last February revealed traces of a drug, which the sport's governing body has refused to disclose.

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by searching out stories about government corruption and insolvency. "They are reporting on matters that a censor would have been thrown in jail for publicizing only two years back," said Nishit.

To counter that trend, the state stations recently stopped broad-casting prepared news reports and switched to live reports in all 20 languages that they work in. They refused commentary to a program, provided news pop music to attract young listeners—and told advertisers to adopt a pepper tone.

And although elderly eastern European émigrés still make up a large proportion of the station's more than 1,000-person staff in Munich, they are being replaced by professional newsmen.

At the same time, the improvements to Soviet Bloc journalists have increased the ones on the state stations to be accurate. *Adventured* staff: "It sometimes happens that we get it wrong. Now, with better reporting in East Europe, audiences are more likely to pick up on the inaccuracies. The many mis-



Radio Free Europe newscast: new competition because of glasnost.

taken could kill our credibility." Still, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty clearly continue to be seen as a propaganda threat in some Communist countries. The Soviet, Bulgarian and Czechoslovakian governments regularly jam the broadcasts—at an estimated cost of \$600 million a year.

In early April, however, Poland abruptly stopped trying to jam the reports, an action that Hungary and Romania took in the 1990s. That may partly be a result of the state stations'

recent rejection of their anti-Communism rhetoric. Broadcasters, no longer assembly refer to Soviet Bloc legation as "so-called embassies"—and workers at the state stations say that the new law is a result of state-sponsored changes to limit the U.S. government put former senator James Buckley, a hard-line Republican ideologue, in charge of the stations. However, in 1986 Buckley was replaced by veteran reporter Eugene Pell—a former NBC Moscow correspondent. Said a Free Europe staffer: "He has brought a sunny needed breath of professionalism."

Workers at Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty say that there are clear limits to protest—and they work in the stations' lives. "The East Bloc has eight years to travel before it can approach freedom of the press," said public relations director Robert Reithel. In the meantime, glassed will leave whole pages blank or blurred." He added, "Our job will be to fill those pages."

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels

FOLLOW-UP

A Scottish challenge

The production came complete with murder strategy—and perhaps in the wings. In April '81, after a three-month pre-Broadway tour, Mischke, William Shakespeare's tragedy about a Scottish nobleman driven by his own—as well as his wife's—ambitions to kill his king, finally opened in New York City's Mark Hellinger Theatre to lukewarm reviews. Still, the highly publicized Broadway production's box office success has been assured by the starring presence of Canada's Christopher Plummer and British actress Glenda Jackson. But the production has been disrupted by having three different directors, numerous cast changes and a major set change, along with bouts of flu and injuries—reviving the legendary theatrical superstition about Mischke being a bad-luck play. The Toronto-born Plummer, though, has been quick to dismiss such speculation. "I don't think it is really all that ominous," the actor said. "We have had bad luck in other plays. It is all just part of the



Plummer, Jackson, box office bunsap

process for any play that goes out of town and goes through trial periods." Still, during the pre-Broadway tour Plummer himself suffered a painful leg injury and a broken tooth—while receiving treatment for a disintegrating spinal disc. And the play itself, mounted by husband-and-wife team Barry and Fran Weisler, well-known New York producers, and Toronto's Garth Drabinsky, president of Cineplex-Odium Corp., has indeed gone through other trials. The producers fired the first director, American Kenneth Frankel, in late January—after the production opened in Stamford, Conn. Then they brought in Robert Phillips, formerly artistic director of Ontario's Stratford Festival, to help strengthen the production. Phillips departed in March, during the play's 10-day Toronto run. Replacing him was American actress-director Joe Caldwell, who saw the production through Boston and New Haven, Conn., and then on to Broadway.

Other crises, including cast firings and technical problems—in Boston, rehearsals had to compete with construction noise as crews worked on an adjacent development—have added to the difficulties. But for his part, Plummer says that if there is a curse associated with Mischke, it is that of staging a notoriously difficult play. "The thing

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that as bad luck about this play—if anything is—in the fact that it may well be a flawed great play," he said. "Some of the early scenes could possibly have been lost, and that may be why it is so short compared to Shakespeare's other plays. It is tightly written, too tightly written, and this is the challenge of playing this part—the fact that you have got to get it all in a very short time."

That challenge is clearly one of the attractions for actors—although some of these will not use the play's real name because of the superstition, referring to it only as "the Scottish play." Many great actors have accomplished the role of Macbeth, but most of them have either been greeted with criticism—or lukewarm praise. "I suppose no one has actually made a huge personal art as Macbeth," said Plummer, who himself received mixed reviews for playing the theme in a 1962 Ronco production. "For me playing that rough diamond who speaks the most extraordinary verse it is a difficult part, indeed it is a curse of a great part that remains unachieved." Still, Plummer's portrayal drew most of the mixed praise that the demanding New York critics were willing to offer. Frank Rich of *The New York Times* referred to "Mr. Plummer's thoughtful, beautifully spoken performance." Jackson's sensual, daring and sometimes bizarre performance as Lady Macbeth was not as well received. And in general, the critics agreed that the production lacked a unifying vision that might have emerged from the steady hand of a single director. Rich, after describing the ferocity of Plummer's performance, added "What should be the moving climax of a tragic performance exists without a context. The procedural production, which moves merely along without ever finding a shape or tone, gives Mr. Plummer an edge on which to build the hero's pathology."

While not an artistic success, *Macbeth* is a box office smash. Throughout its pre-Broadway tour, the production played to packed houses. In Toronto, Canadians stood upon the rails opportunity to see Plummer and Jackson sharing the same stage. And in New York, where the play will run until July 1, people have been lining up at the box office for tickets. Box office receipts for the first full week of performances alone totalled almost \$432,000—another sign of the 389-year-old play's enduring appeal. For theatre audiences, Shakespeare, it seems, is still the thing.

—MORRIS KELLY

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DATeline: PORT HOPE

Wielding a helpful pen

In downtown Port Hope, Ont., ads for computers have replaced movie posters in the windows of the empty Capitol theatre, closed since February, 1993, because of poor attendance. But although the home video revolution has taken its toll on moviegoing in the picturesque, 154-year-old Lake Ontario town of 10,500 people, the printed word appears to be alive and well. A few steps away from the theatre, business is brisk at the town's public library. And one

need for terms of between three and 12 months, can earn up to \$30,000—giving them the financial stability to effectively pursue their own work. Said Urquhart: "That is a lot more than most of us have ever made in our professional lives."

But Urquhart and her colleagues—other writers-in-libraries include novelist and short-story writer Katherine Conner in Parry Sound and children's writer Janet Lucas in Kitchener—work



Urquhart examining manuscripts and offering advice to aspiring writers

attraction is poet Jesse Urquhart, the library's writer-in-residence. Under an innovative Ontario program known as "Writers-in-Libraries," Urquhart has been working at the library since February—helping aspiring local writers to improve their skills. And these writers are not the only ones to benefit from the program: now nearly two years old, Head Urquhart, 36. "In a situation like this, you're back to touch with real people, as opposed to the insular world of writers."

Urquhart, whose complex poetry and fiction—including *The Whirlpool*, a novel—have brought her lavish praise as one of Canada's most gifted new literary talents, is currently one of 11 writers-in-residence in Ontario libraries. Modelled on the success of similar programs at Canadian universities, the Ontario Writers-in-Libraries project was initiated by the provincial government in the fall of 1988 and has so far received close to \$700,000 in funding. Individual libraries seek out the writers of their choice and then apply for government funding. The writers,

hand for their money. Twice a week Urquhart travels the 150 km to Port Hope from her home in Wilemsburg, Ont., 40 km northwest of Bradford. Her days at the Port Hope Library are filled with appointments during which, like a literary doctor, she examines the health of manuscripts and suggests improvements. And besides offering both technical and marketing advice, she leads workshops, organizes public readings and vigorously promotes a wider interest in books, especially Canadian writing.

On one recent Monday morning one of the first visitors to Urquhart's tiny office was 30-year-old poet, writer, teacher or Lorne Whyte, who normally young offenders is nearby Cobourg. "I've been writing poems since high school," Whyte said, "but I lacked the skills to polish them. Jane has been helping me do that." Other visitors included a short-order cook, a town veterinarian, a housewife, a 12-year-old student lawyer and Marian Garland, a retired teacher who has written what she calls



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a "fictional memoir" based on her 22 years as the only female instructor at Port Hope's Trinity College School, a private school for boys. Said Garland: "The encouragement I have gotten from Jane and the group is what helped me finish this thing."

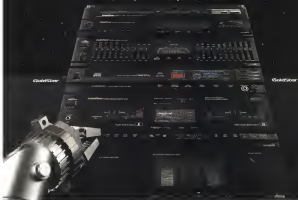
The group that Garland refers to consists of about 20 local writers whom Ungahart sees on a regular one-on-one basis. As many as 15 of them at a time also attend Ungahart's two-hour Monday evening workshops, where they read each other's work and discuss books and issues such as mentorship and libel. Recently, Ungahart said, she assigned a collective writing project "to stimulate memory and imagination by having them write detailed descriptions of their childhood bedrooms." Ungahart says that she was pleasantly surprised when one man brought his mother-in-law's baby blue to the workshop and a woman produced an illustrated book she had written in 1990 at the age of 11. "It was," said Ungahart, "a very moving evening."

Not all workshops have the same emotional pitch, but in a town where stately Victorian mansions rest in the shadow of Eldorado Mines, the giant uranium refinery, the sessions invariably bring together an interesting assortment of people. They range from bearded short-story writer Liam McCann, 19, in his red beret and black army boots, to 80-year-old Catherine Wade, regal in a fur coat and silver bracelets. Wade's romance novel was rejected two years ago in a literary contest, but she shows no sign of discouragement. Said Wade with good humor: "The hottest service in the country is getting a manuscript back."

Ungahart is the Port Hope Library's second writer-in-residence. Head librarian Victoria Owen explained that Ungahart's predecessor in the Port Hope program—Ottawa newsletter writer Sharon Drache—"opened the door" for its popularity. Said Owen: "I had people write letters and call me about when we were getting someone else." Her encouragement, says Owen, "has been to expand the library into a resource and cultural centre for the community." It is a community that Ungahart already feels at home in. "People here have been exceptionally welcoming," she said. The opportunity to meet their readers is something that many writers seek—and the chance to discuss their work with published writers is something that most aspiring authors only dream of. The Writers-in-Libraries program has gone a long way in translating these mutual aspirations into reality.

—MORTON GETTE in Port Hope

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A strongman's iron grip

For months he held on power appeared tenuous. But Bangladesh's strongman, President Hussain Ershad, now appears to have successfully survived months of intense opposition strikes that threatened to topple his government. With the approach of the monsoon—the torrential downpours that turn roads and streets to mud and losses the livelihood of millions and strikes—Ershad announced on April 12 that he would lift the state of emergency that had been in effect since Nov 27. He also undertook to release 6,000 political prisoners, an apparent indication that he feels that for now he has gained firm control of Bangladesh—one of the poorest countries in the world. Said one Western diplomat in the capital of Dhaka, whose country supplies part of Bangladesh's \$2.1 billion in annual foreign aid: "Most people would have predicted that he would be gone



Anti-Ershad demonstrators last November: still in control

by now. But he has survived."

Ershad seized power in a 1983 coup, becoming the fourth president in Bangladesh's short but bloody history. The country, formerly East Pakistan, was

created in 1971 after the violent breakup of Pakistan. Since then, two presidents have been assassinated—Sheik Mujib Rahman during a 1975 coup and Gen Zia Rahman in 1981. But after the recent strikes—called by a coalition of 55 opposition parties and concentrated in urban areas—Ershad still appears to have rural support. One reason, although 86 per cent of the country's 107 million people live in grinding poverty, Ershad has brought some improvements among them increased food production. Said the Western diplomats: "Ershad has brought a considerable amount of progress—although there is, of course, corruption."

That was evident on March 8, when Ershad's ruling Jatiya Party won 250 out of a possible 300 seats during elections in the country's parliament—an effectively powerful institution. But the country's major opposition parties boycotted the vote, and voter turnout was less than five per cent. Hassan, Wajed, leader of the opposition Awami League, told Manjima that the believers (many people are still consumed by longings) down Ershad. "This regime must go," she declared.

But in the rural villages, where the strikes were widely ignored, some people say that living standards and incomes have improved. There, the president still appears to have support—however muted. "It does not matter who is in power if we are okay," said Amir Hossain, a farm laborer. "If we get wheat, we will support the party that gives it. Ershad gives—so we support him." Hassan, who is illiterate, added that he is happy his three children are receiving an education. "My children will have a better life than I did," he said.

At the same time, the opposition has been weakened by rivalries between the Awami League and the country's other major opposition party, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party led by Zia Rahman's widow, Khালেদা জা. As well, some citizens have objected to the use of strikes in a country where so many people live a borderline existence. "We had faith in Hassan and Zia," said Hassan. "But those who call for strikes want to kill us." Still, the strikes have widespread support in the cities. And when the monsoon end in the fall, Ershad's government will face further—and possibly more intense—crises.

—RON KEEFER in Dhaka

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COLUMN

The spectre of Soviet profits

By Diane Francis

Next month the world will focus on whatever news leaks out of the economic summit to be held in Toronto. But attention would be better directed toward Moscow, where the most profound economic event to take place during any of our lifetimes may unfold on June 28. That is when more than 300 Soviet Communist party leaders will meet to endorse what amounts to the second Russian Revolution. The act, inspired by Mikhail Gorbachev, the Generalist chief of the world's second-largest economy, promises to be bloodless. But if leaders give him the vote of confidence that most observers expect, Gorbachev will, in essence, be allowed to dismantle communism and introduce capitalism to his country.

Of course, the Soviets will never admit that that is what is happening. Leaders will be asked to approve in principle Gorbachev's Draft Law on Co-operatives, an important step in a quiet economic revolution that began virtually unnoticed two years ago. That is when Gorbachev introduced laws allowing the formation of profit-making family co-operatives. That experiment worked but limited the co-operatives to a maximum of 50 persons who were related. They were also restricted to service businesses such as taxi companies and restaurants.

Then along came his Law of Joint Ventures in January, 1987. On April 28 McDonald's Restaurants of Canada Ltd. became the first Canadian outlet to take advantage of this law, which allows Soviets to form profit-making joint-venture partnerships with foreigners. McDonald's will own 49 per cent of its Soviet venture, the maximum allowed to foreigners. Its Soviet partner will own 51 per cent, and the two will put up the capital to open 20 restaurants in Moscow within two years. They will split profits proportionately, and McDonald's expects to be able to repatriate some of its earnings.

That is a revolutionary step, but the final blow to fall is on June 28, when Gorbachev will ask for approval of his sweeping Draft Law on Co-operatives, which will allow any individual or enterprise to make profits and accumulate capital. The new law also includes graduated income taxes. All of these significant breakthroughs may be a signal that the Soviets will now become more preoccupied with exporting products than with exporting rev-

olution—an almost-fact that may reduce Cold War tensions.

Underlying Russia's second revolution is the fact that pure communism, like pure capitalism, simply cannot work. If every worker is paid the same, there is no incentive to work harder or be smarter than the next fellow. In fact, the incentive is to avoid work or earn money "on the left," as the Soviets say, which refers to the enormous underground economy there of black-market or illegal economic moonlighting activities.

The new draft law is revolutionary because we now have a fundamental change in the economic structure," said Geoffrey Carr-Harris, president of Foreign Management & Consulting Ltd. in Toronto, which specializes in computer and high-tech exports to the Soviets. "Some would call it capitalism, and the Soviets are careful in saying it is not." Foreign is putting the

idea never worked either, a home-made system that rarely indulged greed without imposing any conscience on its actions. It punished small, innovative enterprises and often rewarded incompetents who merely inherited, or inherited, wealth. In fact, capitalists created the social problems by indulging generations of robber barons who exploited workers, raped the environment and corrupted government institutions.

Fortunately, in the West, democracy imposed reforms that benefited the majority at the expense of the economic elite. Reforms included laws protecting unions, workers and the environment, and redistribution of wealth measures such as graduated income taxes, death duties and inheritance taxes. In Russia, the east never permitted such changes. Not although the czar and his corrupt lieutenants class deserved to be uprooted from their privileges, a new tyrannical bourgeoisie replaced them after the revolution. Vladimir Lenin introduced capitalist measures in the early 1920s, but they were discarded in 1928 by Josef Stalin. Stalin instituted, instead, centralist five-year plans that rewarded production, not profitability. The problem is that when profit becomes a dirty word, so does efficiency, because there is no incentive to cut costs or improve quality. The grim economic reality in Russia has been that economic activity is measured by civil service quotas, not by yardsticks such as quality, innovation and costs.

Gorbachev's revolution deserves Western plaudits, but applause is sparse, particularly in the United States. This is hardly surprising given the paranoia with which the two countries view each other. But that is not the case here in Canada. It is back to why this unusual, significant development could mean special opportunities. The Soviet Union is one of the biggest untapped consumer markets in the world and already strong links have been forged by hockey tournaments and the efforts of former prime minister Pierre Trudeau.

Canada shares the same geography and climate, which can translate into trading opportunities. Perhaps some Canadian entrepreneurs will follow McDonald's and Foreign's lead and make their money in the Soviet Union. Not only are profits possible but shared prosperity is the best route to permanent peace.



An election call on hold

When Nova Scotia's judicial inquiry into the wrongful imprisonment of David Marshall adjourned in March for a six-to-eight-week recess, many political observers predicted that Premier John Buchanan might seize the opportunity to call an election. But that prospect, faded with the resignation last month of Buchanan's deputy premier—the latest in a series of controversies that has engulfed the Conservative government during the past 18 months. Now, with the inquiry due to resume this week, Buchanan's Conservatives faced the possibility of further embarrassments over their role in Marshall's 11-year imprisonment for a murder that he did not commit. And in the wake of a new controversy over government links to a private land developer—and with the opposition Liberals gaining in popularity—it seemed increasingly unlikely that Buchanan will call an election in the near future. And Angus Adamson, a professor of political science at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S., says the Tories are in too much trouble and they might get into more trouble. "I'm coming to the conclusion we won't see an election for another year."

In the latest embarrassment to Buchanan's Tories, the New Democrats last week served notice of a motion of censure over the government's dealings with a developer firm. The issue erupted after opposition critics studying government documents noticed that a firm involved in building private homes had killed \$307,487 behind in mortgage payments to the government. The company is Portland Estates Ltd., a development firm that was embroiled in controversy in 1980. The issue then was the Buchanan government's return of more than 450 acres of expropriated land in Dartmouth, N.S., to Portland Estates, along with a \$16 million loan for the housing development on that land. Opposition critics at the time complained of favoritism. Liberal and NDP members

claimed that since then the government has forgiven a \$10-million debt owed by the firm, which is owned by a prominent Conservative, Allen Brooks. "A private developer has done well at the taxpayers' expense," declared New Democrat John Eblen. "The government

subsequently apologized to the legislature for not being 'as forthcoming as I might have been.' The Buchanan government has faced three other controversies in the past two years. In October, 1986, former culture, recreation and fitness minister



Buchanan, Wayne MacIsaac (right) questions over government dealings with a land developer.

has been overly generous and has not been pursuing the loss. The Portland Estates issue struck just as Buchanan's 3½-year-old government was recovering from the resignation last month of Deputy Premier Richard Thorshill, who stepped down following allegations that government pressure on the bank in 1980 helped him to escape being charged with accepting an illegal benefit. Attorney General Torrance Donahue subsequently came under fire in the legislature for his role in the affair. Buchanan had read a letter from a former newspaper editor that appeared to back the government's handling of the Thorshill case. But Donahue later admitted to having written the letter, which the ex-Minister signed. He sub-

sequently apologized to the legislature for not being "as forthcoming as I might have been." The Buchanan government has faced three other controversies in the past two years. In October, 1986, former culture, recreation and fitness minister

Billie Joe MacIsaac was expelled from the legislature after being convicted of attempting fraud documents, and Tory backbencher Gregory MacIsaac resigned after being convicted of fraud in connection with his government expense account. And last January former social services minister Edmund Morris was fined \$100 after being found guilty of violating the province's Freedom of Information Act. He had made public confidential information from a woman's personal social services file.

For his part, Buchanan remained aloof from the political crisis buffeting his government. Known as "Teflon John" for his ability to avoid being tainted by political difficulties, Buchanan has a solid majority in the 52-seat house and does not have to call an elec-

tion until the fall of 1990. In the Marshall affair, the crowded royal commission hearings will be examining the role that the provincial attorney general's office played in the case of the Miramichi Indian who served 11 years in prison for a murder that he did not commit. The inquiry, under Justice T. Alexander MacIsaac, chief justice of the New Brunswick Supreme Court, has already heard testimony questioning the conduct of police officials and allegations that provincial justice officials treat members of minority groups less fairly than other citizens. It has also spawned intricate legal issues. The Buchanan government is still considering its next move after the Nova Scotia Supreme Court ruled last month that the inquiry is entitled to see records of cabinet discussions on the Marshall case, a significant departure from the accepted convention of cabinet secrecy. Government officials have not yet decided whether to appeal the decision. But Wayne MacIsaac, a Dalhousie University law professor and constitutional expert, said that the government is "in a no-win situation." He added: "If they resist it, it looks like they're trying to stall. But, so be it; there are important points of principle."

In the meantime, Liberal leader Wayne MacIsaac has been able to capitalize on the Tories' troubles. Adamson said that MacIsaac, a former cabinet minister under Liberal Premier Gerald Regan, has emerged as a capable performer in the legislature while organizing a major effort to develop Liberal strength at the grassroots level.

For its part, the government has taken steps to improve its image in the province. Earlier this month the 50-year-old Buchanan—he has been premier since October, 1978—laured northern Cumberland County, announcing \$6½ million worth of economic renewal projects and municipal improvement programs. As well, his government has introduced legislation to require equal pay for work of equal value and to provide stronger environmental safeguards. But the Tories have been close to losing power to the government's standing in the province. Strategists for both the Liberals and the NDP say that, if an election were held now, the Conservatives would—albeit—lose a minority government. In the past, Buchanan's outgoing style and personal magnetism have played a large part in his government's durability. Now, that may be changing. "Teflon John" (as Buchanan), and NDP leader or Alex McDonough, "it's permeable and friendly. It's a lot of people are seeing the government is in a state, and the back steps with him."

—VALERIE MANNING in Halifax



Ms. MacIsaac with Clark and supporters say victory over an anti-abortion candidate.

Ms. MacIsaac's big win

Frank and Margaret MacIsaac drove home a message. Painted on the North Gower, Ont., couple's station wagon is the slogan "Abortion kills babies." MacIsaac, a schoolteacher, and his wife, who is a homemaker looking after the couple's five children, have used their last three cars to declare their anti-abortion sentiments. That spring the MacIsaacs, and hundreds of other Ottawa-area opponents of abortion, took their cause into the federal political arena. After signing up as Conservatives, they helped demoralize anti-abortion activist André Lafrenière in his drive to prevent Margaret MacIsaac's wife with a letter to the editor. MacIsaac won the new Ottawa-region riding of Carleton-Gleadowe. Their campaign failed when MacIsaac handily won the nomination last week with 60 per cent of the vote over Lafrenière and another candidate. But endorsed by the defeat, anti-abortion groups saw as Toronto-based Campaign Life Coalition served notice that they will mount similar efforts in other ridings.

Their campaign could, like those of similar U.S. lobby groups, intensify the role of candidates interested in only one issue. That is a relatively new phenomenon in Canadian politics—and a prospect that worries some political observers. With Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government considering ways of replacing the abortion law that the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional in January, anti-abortion groups have begun rushing letters to supporters urging them to join political parties and attend party nomination meetings in their ridings. Last Conservative strategist David Small. "The nomination system is so enormously based—our riding associations average 100 members—that it is exceptionally vulnerable to single-issue candidates."

The battle between Lafrenière and MacIsaac—who says that abortion decisions should be a matter between women and their doctors—pitted elements of the party establishment against a loosely knit coalition of anti-abortion activists. MacIsaac's slick campaign was directed by a team of seasoned organizers headed by Robert Valore, chief of staff to Jean Charest, federal minister of state for youth, fitness and amateur sport. While MacIsaac and her husband crosscountried the riding in the weeks leading up to the nomination, her husband's controversial letter to the editor to ask for their support. When MacIsaac, 35, took her seat in the stands of Ottawa's Civic Centre for the nomination meeting, she was joined by Clark and eight other Tory area Par-

their part, the anti-abortion forces mustered about 20 volunteers, but most of the new recruits had no previous political experience. Despite McTeer's easy 1,200-to-500-vote victory over Lafrance—a third consecutive, lawyer Philip Branson, retired 196 votes—anti-abortionists said they were encouraged by their showing. Edward Lafrance, who was not a Conservative party member until mid-April when he decided to run against McTeer. "We did very well considering the small number of volunteers we had and the short length of time we spent campaigning." According to Paul Doherty, a director of Campaign Life, anti-abortion groups in some ridings have networks of up to 1,000 committed members ready to support chosen candidates.

Many special-interest groups have favored that tactic at the nomination stage because it is easier to control a party meeting than the populism of a riding in the subsequent general election. Candidates in all three parties win nominations by signing up core members to the local riding association, then ensuring that those members show up at the nomination meeting to vote for them. The anti-abortion forces are gambling that Conservative and Liberal nomination contests could prove vulnerable to pressure from their organizations. Most of the 508 sitting Tory members are expected to win re-nomination, and anti-abortionists see little hope of nominating candidates within the already pro-life New Democratic Party. But John McDermond, a Conservative MP from Ontario, predicted that candidates relying heavily on the support of anti-abortionists could shore many party nominations in contested Tory or Liberal nominations. For their part, senior Liberal organizers said they had yet to see signs of any anti-abortion recruiting drives.

The anti-abortion forces have already claimed a victory. In April anti-abortionists helped Jack Spore, a Vernon, B.C., real estate salesman and a committed anti-abortionist, win the Tory nomination in the new riding of Okanagan-Shuswap over six rivals. Last week in Vancouver, Mulroney said that before drafting new abortion legislation, his government planned to introduce a resolution on the issue in Parliament. Other Tories suggested that the resolution, which could be introduced during the next two weeks, would set out a range of options on abortion and allow MPs to choose one in a free vote. That process seemed certain to intensify the anti-abortionists' efforts to intervene in the political process, and contenders in future nomination battles may see that it is easy as McTeer did to fend them off. □

Autopsy of an air crash

One fellow pilot remembers Capt. John Griffin as "a superior individual" who "strong and forceful" feelings about the perils of flying in de-ice airplanes were required. Last week in Ottawa, those of Griffin's colleagues and his widow, Theresa, repeated these general sentiments to a closed-door meeting of the Canadian Aviation Safety Board. In its December 1987 draft report on the causes of the December 1985 crash of

core team of investigators who reached those conclusions—came from within the CAB. Last December five of the 15 appointed members on the CAB refused to endorse the draft report's conclusions. Since then, several members have charged privately that the safety board's investigators omitted significant evidence, concealed important laboratory work and altered some facts to fit the theory that negligence by the pilot and crew caused the crash. Said one board director who asked not to be named:

"Since the beginning of the investigation, the staff has been intent on proving the ice theory and they have tailored their investigation to arrive at that result."

More criticism was expected this week when executives from Arrow Air Inc., the Miami-based charter operator of the ill-fated DC-8, appear before the board. So far, the airline has paid out more than \$100 million in families of the victims, and 20 lawsuits are still pending in U.S. Federal Court. Although the airline believes the draft report's conclusions appear to exonerate the carrier from responsibility, Arrow vice-president Harry Weinberg said that the airline will demand to know why autopsy reports were excluded from the report. Weinberg claims that the medical evidence found that some of the passengers died from inhaling hydrogen cyanide—a poison released when explosives and other volatile materials caught fire on airplanes. Airline officials say that such evidence suggests that the aircraft was on fire—possibly from an explosion caused by military ammunition or fares carried on the plane—before it hit the ground. Said Weinberg: "The report is inaccurate and does not disclose all the evidence. We want to know the truth."

Meanwhile, safety board investigators insisted that their findings met all international standards for air crash investigations. Said the CAB's Inspector-in-Chief, Fritz Bess, who headed the investigation into the crash: "I take great exception to suggestions that we built a case to fit a scenario. That is not the way we do



RCMP officer of Gender who stands at negligence

An Arrow Air DC-8 jet that killed all of the 248 U.S. servicemen and eight civilian crew members aboard—including Griffin—the CAB concluded that it was the pilot's failure to have an aircraft in the new riding of Okanagan-Shuswap over six rivals. Last week in Vancouver, Mulroney said that before drafting new abortion legislation, his government planned to introduce a resolution on the issue in Parliament. Other Tories suggested that the resolution, which could be introduced during the next two weeks, would set out a range of options on abortion and allow MPs to choose one in a free vote. That process seemed certain to intensify the anti-abortionists' efforts to intervene in the political process, and contenders in future nomination battles may see that it is easy as McTeer did to fend them off. □

Levinson's contention that we was not the cause of Canada's worst aviation disaster was just one element in the controversy stirred by the draft report. Some of the harshest criticism of the 100-page document—and of the



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ser business." But Cals staff members said that they are responding to law firm requests until the final report is made public. The final report, which incorporates the responses of the impacted parties to the draft report, is not expected to be at least several months.

In fact, Cals officials said that the Gander crash investigation was the most extensive and exhaustive ever conducted in Canada. Thirty-three investigators worked to gather evidence at the crash site, and investigators spent 16 months analyzing data and running computerized simulations to try to determine the cause of the crash. Said Thomas Hinton, Cals's director of investigations: "We were dealing with an aircraft that had been, virtually, totally destroyed." He added that the scarcity of evidence "makes it more likely that people will disagree on the cause."

But some Cals directors insisted that within days of the crash several investigators had made up their minds that ice was the cause. In their still-unpublished draft report—a copy of which was seen by *Newsweek*—investigators contended that the light, early-morning sun in the near-freezing temperatures at Gander caused the ice to form on the wings. The report concludes that ice—coupled with the possibility that the plane's load may have made it heavier than the pilot realized—probably caused the ice to stall and down crash. Griffin's fellow pilots rejected suggestions that the crew would have been negligent in assuming that the plane was ice-free. Other critics claimed that the Cals investigators failed to take into account testimony from four ground-crew workers who reported what they saw on ice on the aircraft.

As well, several board members questioned some of the investigators' actions. Of particular concern: the relocation of a laboratory project dealing with the condition of the plane's No. 4 engine, which had a history of overheating. Sources close to the investigation said that even Cals field investigators were angry when, after painstakingly reassembling what was left of the DC-8's fuselage on an airport hangar floor at Gander, the pieces were bulldozed onto a pile.

Those actions drew criticism from members of Griffin's family and others



Engine from the wrecked plane: disagreement over how it happened

who dispute the ice theory. Said Capt. Richard Moore, who has joined Lemmon in protesting against the draft report: "The report is a conspiracy to denigrate the professionalism of the crew." Griffin's defenders proposed a different explanation of the crash: Said Lemmon: "We believe that the No. 4 engine inadvertently went into reverse. And if that is so, the problem with the DC-8s is

a time bomb waiting to go off." Meanwhile, some Ottawa officials say that the probability of the four-year-old Cals may have been seriously damaged. Officials in the office of Transport Minister Benoît Bouchard, who are forbidden by law from interfering in the board's affairs, said that they are frustrated by the mounting controversy. Admittedly, Hinton: "There is no doubt that all this public debate hurts us." Others close to the investigation say that only a judicial inquiry into how the investigation was conducted will ever answer the reasons for the Gander crash. Said Jerry Raskowski, an expert on DC-8s who helped Lemmon prepare his Ottawa presentation: "Nobody concerned with air safety likes to see an accident attributed to an 'undetermined' cause. But 'undetermined' is better than a phantom cause."

—BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa with
WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

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High Noon in Moncton

It started as a routine political visit about 11 a.m. May 7. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his wife, Milla, stopped from a luncheon and began walking toward the Beaver Curling Club in Moncton, N.B., where Mulroney planned to address the annual meeting of the provincial Conservative party. But within seconds they were surrounded by about 250 placard-waving demonstrators, many of them members who had been lured off from the federally owned Canadian National railway repair shops in Moncton. Milla Mulroney threw her hands over her head as police struggled to clear a path.

have worked against four prime ministers. Brian Mulroney is the only one who would demand the office of prime minister by trying to make a partisan issue of such a matter."

Several senior government officials said privately that they were embarrassed by Mulroney's attempts to link the visit to the violence. They said that Mulroney himself has increased the risk of attack by insisting that his personal security be kept to a minimum.

Later in the week several Conservative MPs who had attended the party's regular caucus meeting said that Mulroney had ruled against the "God damned press" during the session for



Brian and Milla Mulroney during demonstration: two attacks, no charges and mass security

Suddenly, she doubled over, apparently pained by the stomach by a demonstrator's placard. Seconds later the Mulroneys reached the safety of the curling club, and after Milla spent a few minutes recovering in the ladies' room, Mulroney gave his speech.

But the incident did not end there. It rained hours touching on security arrangements and it lasted a week of political change and reconfiguring, with Mulroney attempting to pin the blame on the opposition New Democrats. Mulroney fired the first shot moments after he entered the curling club, when he said that some of the demonstrators were "associated" with the vice because they were union members. New Democrats reacted furiously. New Leader Ed Broadbent said that "violence against Mrs. Mulroney at anyone else is of course totally unacceptable" behavior. But he added "I

not be described as biased coverage of the Moncton incident. According to the press, who spoke on condition that they not be identified, Mulroney said that the media had become an "enemy" of the party. Another MP said Mulroney told the caucus that if one of the demonstrators had had a knife, his wife could have been killed in the incident.

The Prime Minister told reporters after the incident that his wife was "struck violently in the stomach by a demonstrator, a big guy carrying an anti-personnel placard." But shortly after she was struck, Milla said that she was "just winded with an elbow." After a preliminary investigation, security officers, who are responsible for the Prime Minister's security, said that they were convinced that Milla Mulroney was indeed hit by a demonstrator's placard. In the House of Commons, Solicitor General James Kilbride said that the

Moncton was treating the incident "as an assault under the Criminal Code."

Still, police did not lay charges. Officers on the scene arrested two unionists at the Moncton demonstration but later released them. One was protest organizer Bernard Beaulieu, a machanic, who was arrested as the Mulroneys left the curling club. Witnesses said that Beaulieu threw his red shirt and hat in the direction of the Mulroneys, but it did not hit them.

Moncton labor leaders were more upset by the arrest of Greg Murphy, president of the Moncton local of the International Carriers' Union and a future federal NDP candidate. Thomas Barrow of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport & General Workers said that Murphy was three metres from the Mulroneys when four RCMP officers pushed him to the ground, handcuffed him, then led him to a police wagon while blood trickled from a cut cheek. Police later released Murphy without laying charges. Barrow said that Murphy was then taken to a local hospital, where an electrocardiogram showed that he had suffered "a borderline heart attack." He added that Murphy was considering taking legal action against the police.

One other person at the demonstration also ended up briefly in hospital. Jill Vincent, an 85-year-old Conservative delegate to the meeting, was knocked to the ground and trampled. Doctors confirmed her bruised legs for injuries but released her shortly after.

But perhaps the most serious wound was to the reputation of the RCMP officers who are entrusted with protecting the Mulroneys. Mulroney has made their job more difficult by abandoning the secret service and the tight security that former prime minister Pierre Trudeau used. Mulroney has frequently demonstrated his indifference to personal risk by plunging into crowds to shake hands or strutting alone through the Ottawa neighborhood around his official residence at 24 Sussex Drive. A senior government security official told Jean's last week that the RCMP had planned to introduce tighter security procedures for the Prime Minister within two months, but the changes will now be introduced sooner. And after the Moncton incident, even Mulroney may now accept greater restrictions on his movements.

—MARC CLARK with HELENE MACKENZIE in Ottawa

On guard for the leaders

The lavish dinner at the exclusive Toronto Club may be a pleasure for the dinner—but it is less so as a gift from Canada's security forces. On June 21, hours after seven weeks of government complete their three-day economic summit in Toronto, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will attend a dinner given by Argus Capital at the downtown club, which is ringed by lightless after towers. As her host, millionaire Canadian businessman Gerald Black, presents the British leader to his guests, British and Canadian security agents will patrol the club, the surrounding buildings, and even the avenues for any sign of a terrorist threat. As a senior RCMP officer told Macdon's last week, "We vigilante it as a tight security net. It is like a shield, and you have to make sure that all the links are strong and connected."

Indeed, the security planners say that the net they weave over the June 21-22 meeting will be the tightest in Canada's history. The 14th annual economic summit will bring together the leaders of the world's seven major Western industrial nations: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, French President François Mitterrand, Japanese Premier Noboru Takeshita, Italian Prime Minister Ciriaco De Mita, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Thatcher. To protect the seven leaders, Canadian security forces have devised a \$45-million operation that will deploy 4,500 people from the RCMP, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), the Ontario Provincial Police, the Metropolitan Toronto Police and neighboring regional forces. But several officials insist that they will not transform Toronto into a temporary police state. Said one senior official, "We do not want it to be brutal, hard-edged and forceful security."

Although all the world leaders will bring their own security experts to the summit, Canadian officials will be in charge. According to senior intelligence sources, the visit of Pope John Paul II in September, 1984, forced Canada to tighten its security procedures. Canada had to ensure the safety of a world leader—who had survived one attempt upon his life—as he travelled across the country.

Since that 1984 tour worldwide concern the security has grown as terrorist attacks have become increasingly sophisticated. On the eve of the 1988 Tokyo summit Japan's national Middle East Centre fired five laser-made rockets into the city's downtown core. At the Toronto summit, Thatcher and Reagan are consid-



Thatcher possible terrorist target

ered the most likely terrorist targets. The Irish Republican Army has claimed responsibility for previous attempts on Thatcher's life. Economic Iranians and Libyan groups have targeted the U.S. President. As well, the Japanese Red

Army is threatening Tokyo. To combat that threat, the security net must extend over the heads of government, their finance ministers, their foreign ministers and their spouses. As well, it must cover events national across Metropolitan Toronto, ranging from a dinner at the city's rustic west-end Old Mill restaurant to the downtown site of Roy Thomson Hall, some of the closing ceremonies, to the east-end Toronto Hunt Club, where Mulroney will host a dinner for the heads of state. At all locations, helicopters will patrol the skies. Rebel drivers will wear the waterfret, and sharpshooters will be posted on rooftops. Security forces will cord off city hall for opening ceremonies and close downtown streets for parades of armed cars.

But security forces expressed the hope that Torontonians will, for the most part, be unaware of the security net. At the same time, security officials did their best to keep exact details of the security arrangements secret. Said a senior security official, acknowledging the grim reality of terrorism, "You are dealing with the twofold angle: the more that you talk about it, the more that you invite it."

—HELENE MACKENZIE in Ottawa with WILLY JACQUES in Toronto

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Chrétien refusing to concede defeat is — at risk out — a leadership roll

An active noncontender

For a self-proclaimed noncontender, Jean Chrétien was behaving suspiciously like a political hopeful as the turmoil surrounding the hard-pressed (and) Liberal leader John Turner reverberated across Western Canada. Last week in Calgary Chrétien knocked out Calgary's Blaine Higgs two days before the popular civic leader was due to address an annual meeting in Lethbridge of the Alberta wing of the federal Liberal party. Emerging from that private session, Klass—who is not a known adherent of any political party—called on Turner to step down. Referring to last week's Gallup poll that found that 49 per cent of Canadian voters think Turner should resign as leader, Klass told the *The Calgary Star*.

"When you have got half the people in doubt, you should resign," it makes political common sense that you can't take a party into an election when the leadership is in doubt."

But Klass, co-elected in October with an overwhelming majority, had more to say—about Chrétien and about his own future. Said Klass: "If I were to become involved in federal politics, he is a person I could easily see as a leader." It was a tantalizing statement from a politician who, after three terms as Calgary mayor and with the widely acclaimed Calgary Winter Olympics behind him, may be looking for a new challenge. There is a precedent: the late senator Harry Hays left Calgary city hall to be the Calgary South riding for the

Liberals in the 1982 federal election. Chrétien refused to commit himself to—or rule out—any public campaign to wrest the leadership from Turner, who in recent weeks faced a revolt by members of his parliamentary caucus and unrest among Quebec Liberals. "I don't say so, I don't say yes," he told reporters, following a speech to a sold-out crowd of 500 that packed a dining hall at the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology for a \$75-a-plate dinner of 150 people. "I turned away at least 100 people," said Roger Bessant, the institute's chief fund raiser, who organized the dinner to raise funds to ensure the institute's Gothic-style former main building "Mr. Chrétien is very well liked in Alberta. And this is a staunch Tory country."

Chrétien, whose speech dealt with the Moose Lake constitutional accord, could not avoid a few pointed snipes. He joked that "there is one thing my wife and all Progressive Conservatives agree on—that I should not run for the Liberal leadership." Added Chrétien, "The most difficult thing to know is where to get out of politics. Most politicians don't know when to get out." At the end of his speech the crowd gave Chrétien a standing ovation. For Chrétien, a staunch Trades Union loyalist and former Liberal cabinet minister who left active politics after Turner defeated him in the 1984 party leadership contest, the most difficult problem may be deciding whether—and when—to return.

—NORM BROWN in Calgary

Reaching a compromise

It still has hurdles to clear, but the agreement-in-principle reached last week on a native land claim by the Dene and Métis peoples of the Mackenzie River Valley was a major step forward. Since they began in 1981, negotiations with the federal government over the 480,000 square miles that the group claimed in the Northwest Territories have been marked by internal arguments among the natives and frustration beginning to surface. Finally, on May 23, negotiators reached an agreement in Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister William McLaughlin's office.

If ratified by the joint leadership of the Dene Nation and Métis Association of the Northwest Territories next month, the agreement would apparently give the 16,000 native people \$279 million in 1986 dollars and full-surface and sub-surface ownership of 1,900 square miles. Details have not been made public, but active leaders said Mackenzie's Dene and Métis would also hold surface rights to 75,000 square miles of land. They would receive 18 per cent of federal royalties on mineral production and maintain hunting and trapping rights. As well, they would gain 50-per cent representation on boards governing wildlife, land and water management.

Negotiations settled one of the most emotional issues in the last few weeks. Ottawa wanted the new deal to supersede two previous treaties, signed in 1900 and 1905. But the Dene and Métis resisted, partly because of their vague grievances of political rights in the past, the negotiators apparently compromised on allowing the Dene and Métis to pursue their political rights and keep certain treaty rights, but relinquished their treaty claims to land and hunting.

The compromise could present problems for native leaders trying to convince their communities that the agreement is in their interest. Said Stephen Kakah, the minister of aboriginal rights for the Territories and a former Dene president, "Of the first question they're asked is why the treaties were given up, why they're dead in the water." If that happens, the historic agreement could suffer the same fate as a \$190-million pact struck in 1984 with neighboring Council of Yukon Indians. When land claims failed to satisfy that agreement, it abruptly died.

—BOB EATON in Yellowknife

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The battle for Punjab

Since radical Indian Sikhs began a violent campaign for independence in 1982, the Golden Temple in the northern city of Amritsar has served both as a haven for the militants and a symbol of their defiance. Twice the Indian government has tried to force them out of the temple. In 1984's Operation Blue Star, 2,500 people were killed when Indian army troops stormed Sikhism's holiest shrine—setting off Sikh protests around the world. In 1986 soldiers invaded the temple again and expelled the militants who were occupying it. But after each attack, new fighters have slipped back into the labyrinthine complex, with its dozens of entrances. And last week, as gun battles broke out between militants and soldiers, the scene appeared to be building toward yet another bloody climax.

The confrontation at the Golden Temple—including a limited assault by soldiers on some outer buildings—coincided with a new reign of terror by the militants, who are fighting to create an independent Sikh homeland in the northern Indian state of Punjab. Since the beginning of the year they have killed more than 300 people—three times the number for the corresponding period in 1982. More than 100 died in the first 10 days of May alone. Unlike previous years, when most victims were Hindus, more than half of the fatalities in 1988 have been Sikhs. "The terrorists do not necessarily discriminate between Hindus and Sikhs," said Dalbir Singh, a young Sikh lawyer in the state capital of Chandigarh. "Increasingly, it is becoming a massacre of innocents whatever their religion."

The carnage has reached such proportions that many people—both Sikhs and Hindus—have fled to refugee camps, especially from the hard-hit districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur near the Pakistani border. Thousands of Hindu families in the border area have received letters from Sikh militant groups declaring that "there is no place for Hindus in Khalistan"—the name of the state they seek to establish—and ordering them to leave. Siddh Roopak Lal, a shopkeeper who fled his village for the Badli Sarna refugee camp in the



Sikh radicals on the temple dome: fanatical determination to achieve a homeland

Amritsar district. "To disregard their threats would be suicide."

Moderate Sikhs are equally afraid. Twenty-year-old Surjit Singh recently moved to a refugee camp in the Amritsar district after terrorists threatened most of the members of his family. Last New Year's Day he saw his aunt and his family burn in the town of Channa Bhatt near the Pakistan border and opened fire with Chinese-made 32-47 assault rifles, 8-mm Sten

submachine-guns and 30-caliber revolvers. In a few seconds all nine people in the house were dead, including Singh's father, mother, wife, two daughters—aged 8 and 4—three sons, a niece and an 18-month-old nephew who was found lying on the floor, a feeding bottle still in his mouth.

But the militants told reporters who visited them that they would rather die than surrender, and some said that, if necessary, they would commit suicide by swallowing cyanide tablets.

Both Hindus and Sikhs place the blame for the rising violence on the government of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, although for different rea-

sons. "We live in fear that the terrorists will get to me too," said Singh.

After taking part in such attacks, many terrorists have taken refuge in the Golden Temple, again turning the shrine into a virtual fortress. Brick-and-mortar bunkers have been built to protect the more than 300 armed militants who occupy the grounds, and Khudai flags of yellow and black flutter from the walls. "We are ready for another Operation Blue Star," said one young guerrilla.

Last week's showdown began when militants opened fire on police commanders who were inspecting a riot-shock barrier from a post overlooking the temple. In the ensuing gunfight, two civilians and three militants were killed. After ordering 700 worshippers to leave the temple, 2,500 paramilitary

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Rodas of militants killed by security forces last month a new reign of terror throughout the Punjab

police took up positions on the perimeter, and elite Indian commandos stationed on high buildings surrounding the shrine kept the militants penned down with accurate fire from telescopic-sighted rifles. In sporadic exchanges of gunfire throughout the week, at least 29 Sikhs were killed. Then, on Friday, the security forces—reinforced by 300 fresh commandos—smashed through fortifications to seize two buildings in the temple complex, including a kitchen, which had been serving food to the militants.

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A savage farewell

Even before the 135,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan were to begin their official phased withdrawal from the country last Sunday, Mujaheddin rebels were moving into abandoned towns and military bases, including Barikot, a bleak Afghan military outpost hugging the border with Pakistan. There they discovered stores of 303-calibre rifle ammunition, stashed with the Maple Leaf symbol surrounded by Russian Cyrillic lettering and an arrow in English—"Canada".

How Soviet and Afghan army troops could have acquired Canadian ammunition at first perplexed Canadian Embassy officials in Islamabad, the capital of neighboring Pakistan. Canadian export control laws forbid public or private sales of munitions or weapons to Communist Bloc countries. In fact, during a debate on Afghanistan last year in the United Nations, Ambassador Stephen Lewis gestured the Mujaheddin rebels and criticized the Marxist Kabul government and its Soviet supporters.

Some of the military was removed last week by External Affairs spokesman Paul Frazee. He said that markings stenciled on the crates indi-

cated that the 300 ammunition—used mainly in old British Lee-Enfield rifles and Vickers machine-guns—was manufactured in 1944 by a since-closed Quebec munitions firm. "The ammunition was sent to Russia during the Second World War, and that was the last step as far as we were concerned," he said. "Who got it into Afghanistan at which or it went in via the black market we have no way of knowing."

The fall of Barikot was significant for other reasons as well. In the past rebel bases based in Peshawar, Pakistan, were forced to supply their fighters in northern Afghanistan through a circuitous mountain route. Now, a rebel commander Laigal told a *Washington* correspondent early this month, the departure of the Soviets and Afghan regulars "opens the transportation route to the provinces of Badakhshan, Kandahar, Saghlan, Laghman and Parwan." As well, late last week Soviet troops began withdrawing from the strategic river of Jalinabad in the east and Kandahar in the south, leaving only Afghan soldiers to guard the two main roads into Pakistan.

But Soviet and government troops en-

sured that the entry of the Mujaheddin into Barikot would be costly. Following their hasty departure Soviet and Afghan warplanes bombed the village, destroying 60 per cent of it. And concealed land mines made approaches to the area treacherous. Early this month journalists brought to the site by Mujaheddin rebels saw evidence of the destruction. At the edge of the village lay the remnants of an ammunition depot destroyed by departing troops. Mounds of Afghan Army uniforms and propaganda material were scattered about the site.

Since the abandonment of Barikot, some of the three million Afghans living in Pakistani refugee camps have ignored Mujaheddin warnings and have begun returning to their homes in Afghanistan. Many of them carried their belongings on their backs, walking across a wooden beam over the Kamez river, near the boundary between the two countries. It was a dangerous journey. As many as 10 refugees have died during the past three weeks from land mines in Barikot, the departing government troops have left booby traps too. Several rebels were wounded when they opened bags of flour that had been rigged with explosives.

There are deep divisions among the Mujaheddin, and they are readily apparent in Barikot. From the top of a former Soviet command post, the flag



Afghan rebels in Barikot with abandoned weaponry. Among the spoils, Canadian ammunition.

of one of the seven groups in the Mujaheddin alliance—Yusuf Khzai's Hezb-e-Islami (Islamic Party)—now flutters in the breeze. From a nearby pole hangs the flag of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's rival party of the same name. Elsewhere in the village are members of two other factions, each with its own ideas about who should be included in a post-Soviet Afghan govern-

ment. But so far, the roads have not begun fighting each other.

In Pakistan, despite the Soviet withdrawal, cross-border shelling and bombing by Soviet and Afghan forces have continued. Between May 1 and May 6, Afghan air forces jets bombed the Pakistani border villages of Arands and Durash as well as an Afghan refugee camp located between

the two. As well, Pakistan army personnel in Arands claimed that 30 of their border patrol guards had died in cross-border shelling since late April.

Afghan government leader Najibullah claims that his forces have deliberately retreated from some border garrisons to permit the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan. But some Western diplomats in the region say that a series of military setbacks has forced Najibullah to pull back in fact. A U.S. Embassy official in Islamabad declared that the fall of Barikot may eventually enable the guerrillas to become strong enough to overthrow Najibullah. A Soviet Army official in Kabul was even more blunt. When the Soviet troop withdrawal is completed by next February, he said, "my personal opinion is that there will be a bloodbath." But with Mujaheddin rebels quickly advancing into territory abandoned by government forces, the indications were that a bloodbath might occur long before the last Soviet soldier left.

—ANDREW BELLER with KATHY SANDSON in Barikot and HELENY BUCHANAN in Ottawa

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Shevardnadze (left) with Shkir during Geneva talks offering the ceasefires

GENEVA

Going down to the wire

For several days President Ronald Reagan's approaching Moscow summit appeared to be in danger of degenerating into a sophisticated trip. First, U.S. and Soviet officials acknowledged that they could not finish negotiating a long-range missile treaty before Reagan's meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev from May 29 to June 2. Then, last week, U.S. Senate leaders refused to object to ratification of a medium-range missile treaty until verification problems were resolved. Without either treaty, Reagan and Gorbachev would have had little to celebrate. But after meeting in Geneva last week, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced that they had solved the difficulties.

Senate leaders said that they would begin their debate this week. Bill Alaska Republican Theodore Stevens: "Presenting a ratified treaty to Gorbachev is important, and the opportunity should not be missed." The latest problems arose last month when negotiators met to decide on the procedures that the two countries would use to verify compliance with the intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty. Signed by Gorbachev and Reagan in Washington on Dec. 8, the pact bans missiles with ranges of 500 km to 5,500 km.

U.S. negotiators, clearly concerned that the Soviets might try to smuggle missiles out of assembly areas in places, insisted on the right to inspect any structure capable of holding a single stage of the Soviet SS-20 missile. And

they demanded the right to examine any structure housing the Siberian missile plant at Volzhsk that was large enough to hold the first two stages of an SS-20. The Americans also wanted access to a Soviet missile site, while the Soviets insisted on prohibiting access to some areas. Kremlin officials also wanted a veto over the use of cameras by inspectors.

After the Geneva meeting, U.S. officials said that the Soviets had agreed to many of the American demands—including the use of cameras and authorized access to missile sites. They also agreed to stop use of Volzhsk only missiles big enough to hold an entire SS-20, and those would be subject to U.S. inspection. As well, the two sides exchanged notes confirming that futuristic versions of short- and medium-range missiles would be banned.

According to Shevardnadze, the dispute showed that the two superpowers continued "to pay the ransom of mutual distrust." But he and Shultz agreed that they had cleared away any remaining obstacles to ratification. Still, Democrats in the Senate seemed dubious. Said Majority Leader Robert Byrd: "We've been said before that everything was hunky-dory." Under a Democratic plan, the Senate will likely keep Reagan on tenterhooks by delaying ratification for 10 days. A vote might not come until May 12—right before the President leaves for his first trip to Moscow.

—MARTIN GRIFFIN with WILLIAM LUTHERS in Washington

LEBANON

'Brothers' at war

In Beirut, they call it "the war of the brothers"—and, historically, such wars are the most bitter. But the battle that raged intermittently last week between two Shiite militia factions for control of the Lebanese capital's southern suburbs was unusually fierce. Artillery of the mainstream Amal militia pounded the heavily populated shantytowns controlled by the pro-Iranian Hizbullah (Party of God). And Hizbullah gunmen retaliated by snatching and executing members of Amal whom they took prisoner.

By the end of the week, despite attempts by Syrian and Israeli mediators to impose a ceasefire, the death toll had reached at least 150, with more than 500 wounded. But after the Hizbullah had cleared Amal from about 80 per cent of south Beirut's 16-square-mile rabbit warren of shacks and seized control of the highway linking the city to the airport, the Syrian army acted, in a shock-out with the Hizbullah, the Syrians killed five gunmen when they moved too close to Syrian positions.

For Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, it was a step deeper into the Lebanese quagmire. For 16 months 7,000 of his troops have been based in Beirut, partly to keep the peace between the warring Muslim factions. But the Shiite southern suburbs have remained off limits to the Syrians, who have preferred not to risk heavy casualties by moving in. The Syrian army also seems to be concerned that fighting might endanger the foreign hostages, now numbering 32, who are believed to be held in the southern suburbs.

The Hizbullah extension, supported by Iran, was set up as an Iranian-style Shiite state in Lebanon. The more moderate Amal, backed by Syria, supports constitutional reforms to give the Shiites—the country's largest and poorest group—more say in the government. As the two sides fought it out last week, the Syrian military commander, Brig-Gen Hani Karara, threatened forces to stop the bloodshed. He held off until Friday, when his troops fired on Hizbullah fighters who had moved into captured positions on the airport road, only metres from Syrian checkpoints. And with the death of the five Hizbullah men, the fate of the Western hostages, somewhere in the ruins of south Beirut, seemed more desperate than ever.

—JOHN HEINMAN with correspondence reports



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A new inflation alarm

Just before last October's spectacular stock market crash, the prime lending rate that U.S. banks charge their best customers rose to 9.25 per cent. That relatively high level followed two months of increases in response to ac-

tion by the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, which had been designed to cool inflationary trends. The U.S. economy was then strong, and stock markets were only slightly depressed. But last week the U.S. financial system experienced an almost unending deluge of these pre-crash conditions: A strong American economy was again fueling concerns about inflation, and that caused interest rates, which dropped sharply after the crash, to repeat their slow but steady increase. And in the case of credit risk, stock market prices around the world dropped immediately and dramatically.

The New York Stock Exchange's Dow Jones industrial average closed down 378.90 points last Wednesday, while the Toronto Stock Exchange's 300 composite index fell by 132.02 points, centered with 508.23 points in New York City and 407 points in Toronto on Black Monday (October 19). Many financial analysts say that the growing alarm over inflation is widely responsible for rising interest rates and the resulting volatility in world stock markets. But the Consumer Price Index (CPI) in both Canada and the United States has in fact moved downward since the October crash. Still, business and government experts say that they anticipate that the downward trend in prices has bottomed and that inflation could rise sharply again later this year. In particular, regulators say that they are concerned about a possible wage-and-price spiral caused by higher contract settlements. These concerns increased in Canada earlier this month when the contracts of 44,000 construction

workers in southern Ontario expired. So far, wage increases are running at about \$3 an hour over two years, or just under seven per cent a year. In the case of Ontario's 1,000 marble, tile and terrazzo workers—who had earned a wage of \$22 an hour under the last contract—

In Canada at around 4.2 per cent for the past four years.

However, many economists say that if wage increases do cause higher prices, Bank of Canada governor John Chow may use the government's main weapon against inflation—higher in-



Office complex under construction in Halifax. Higher wages that could propel prices upward.

it represents nearly double the current national inflation rate of 4.1 per cent. And that is the kind of increase that business and government spokesmen say is worrying them. Declared Michael Miller, economist with the WEA Group, a Toronto-based economic research firm. "Wage increases will be passed onto the consumer in the form of higher prices."

The early warning sign of inflation have already shown up in some producer price indexes, which measure the cost of goods at early stages in the manufacturing process. Prices for materials at the intermediate stage of manufacturing production were five per cent higher in January than prices for the same month a year earlier. BNL inflation has remained relatively stable

at around 4.2 per cent for the past four years. However, many economists say that if wage increases do cause higher prices, Bank of Canada governor John Chow may use the government's main weapon against inflation—higher in-

terest rates—to dampen consumer activity. But the risks of using that strategy can be high. Interest rates that rise too quickly can choke economic growth, leading to recession and unemployment. Rising rates also shake stock market investors nervous, sometimes leading to dramatic drops like the one that occurred last week.

Chow: Interest rates.



That is a reversal from the board's stance since the October market crash, when it kept U.S. interest rates relatively low to foster confidence in the country's economy. On May 11, it sent major banks responded to a tightening of the money supply by the Federal Reserve Board by raising their prime rate by one-half of a percentage point to nine per cent. So far, analysts have described the increase as modest. New York-based economist James Seligman of the Argus Research Corp. said that U.S. rate rises are "a bit uncomfortable, but they are not yet a credit crunch."

But even if inflation remains low in Canada, climbing U.S. interest rates will place Crow under strong pressure to follow the trend. Canada generally maintains higher rates than the American ones. That strategy helps support the Canadian dollar by preventing capital from flowing south. Currently, interest rates are about two per cent higher in Canada for short-term money bills that mature within 90 days.

That is because the Canadian dollar is already strong relative to its American counterpart. Most analysts believe that concerns about creating a recession in Canada will also prevent Crow from raising Canadian rates in lockstep with those in the United States. The Canadian bank rate, set weekly by the Bank of Canada, moved upward last month but held steady last week at 9.125 per cent. But the prime lending rate that most Canadian banks offered, which moved up sharply to 10.25 per cent from 9.75 per cent in the last week of April, remained unchanged last week.

Meanwhile, Ontario's construction workers framed themselves in a stronger position than at any time over the past 10 years, during which wage settlements consistently lagged behind inflation. Now, unemployment in the Toronto area has dried to 3.1 per cent, while a building boom has created intense demand for skilled labor. And Miller predicts that annual wage increases will exceed budget at an average of five per cent over the next 18 months.

Most of the larger wage increases will also be confined to Ontario, Miller said. Other regions of the country, particularly Alberta and Saskatchewan, should experience some growth, Miller added, but workers outside Ontario will be placing a greater priority on job security. For them, at least, a significant wage increase will take several years to reach more to keep inflation under control in Canada, than even the Bank of Canada's tight-money policy.

—PATRICIA CHISHOLM

Fast-track action

After passing its omnibus trade bill on April 27, the United States Congress last week sent the legislation to President Ronald Reagan, who was expected to exercise his authority and veto the bill. But the showdown between Congress and the administration over the trade bill is not expected to affect the fate of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement, according to most congressional spokesmen. Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate began considering the agreement independently two weeks

ago. "Certainly [this] is not Senator Bennett's approach."

But other Washington political analysts expressed concern that the free trade deal could be delayed if Reagan vetoes the trade bill. William Mahoney, a former member of Reagan's Council of Economic Advisors, said that certain senators have made it quite clear that the Canadian pact may be dependent on the President signing some version of the trade bill. Said Mahoney: "The Democrats have made a three-year in-



Crossing the Canadian border: moving the free trade deal toward rapid approval.

ago Committee chairmen have agreed to an administration request to submit the agreement to Congress by the end of May. If they meet that deadline—as now seems likely—the sword will require so-called fast-track processing, forcing Congress to approve or reject it without any major change within 90 legislative days.

Reagan will likely veto the trade bill because it contains a provision requiring any company with more than 500 employees to give 60 days' notice of a closure or layoff of more than 100 employees. The House of Representatives may have enough votes to override the veto, but the Senate is not likely to muster the necessary two-thirds majority. As a result, a presidential veto will probably send the bill back to Congress. But Jack Devore, a spokesman for Senator Lloyd Bentsen, the Texas Democrat, who chairs the Finance Committee, said that he expected the free trade pact to be voted on before August. He added that there is little evidence that the Canada-U.S. accord is in peril to the fate of the trade bill. Indeed, he said that Reagan's kicking free trade to the trade bill was

restment in the omnibus trade bill and they do not want to see it go under."

Last week the congressional committees were studying the trade accord to determine what existing laws, regulations and tariffs will have to be changed in order to conform to the agreement. The committees will then send the agreement to a House-Senate committee during the last week of May to complete the changes. Then the fast-track process begins. Michael Krausz, a law professor at George Mason University in Virginia and author of a new study on the free trade deal, said that some Democratic congressmen may delay passage of the agreement in order to extract trade-bill concessions from the administration. Krausz predicted that Congress will approve the agreement before the end of the year. But an increasing number of Washington insiders are even more optimistic: they say that the accord may well pass before Congress adjourns in August.

—DAVID JENNIFER with WILLIAM LUTHERIE in Washington



Making electronic parts at Kodak: a plan to diversify a U.S. institution

Kodak's new development

In early 1985 Kodak Canada Inc. launched what it called its Toronto Expansion Program, an ambitious and thorough overhaul of its manufacturing, distribution and warehouse operations. By the time it completed the program last October Kodak had consolidated its Canadian operations at a 57-acre Toronto site, eliminated a 200-acre manufacturing site in Brampton, 48 km northwest of the city, and demolished or sold five buildings. Kodak Canada's facility was part of a worldwide restructuring that its corporate parent, the Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, N.Y., began in 1984. The objective was to make Eastman Kodak and its various subsidiaries more efficient, competitive and profitable.

The 750 shareholders who attended the company's annual meeting in Toronto last week learned that the restructuring has resulted in a vastly improved financial performance. Eastman Kodak achieved record sales of \$17.6 billion last year, up from \$16 billion in 1986. But many investors and financial analysts say that they are still concerned about Kodak's \$6.9-billion acquisition last February of New York City-based Sterling Drug Inc., known primarily for its Bayer Aspirin and Lysol household cleaning products. That transaction pushed Kodak's long-term debt to \$2.5 billion.

Although Kodak is known primarily

as a manufacturer of film and easy-to-use, point-and-shoot cameras, the company is a vast, sprawling multinational conglomerate that manufactures more than 50,000 different products, including a new video printer, which can make instant color photographic copies of television images. Eastman Kodak chairman Carlyle Chandler said in an interview that he had set out to develop a strong plan for ensuring the company's growth and profitability into the 21st century. First, he said, he divided Kodak into four separate sectors, then declared that their annual growth rate should average about six per cent, or twice the historic average increase in the gross national product of the United States.

Photographic products currently account for 60 per cent of Kodak sales and remain the largest of the four growth areas identified by Chandler. The second-largest growth area, accounting for 20 per cent of annual sales, is called information systems and includes photocopiers, computer printers and other personal computers, used by many news organizations, including Maclean's. And

chemical products, including textile fibers, make up 20 per cent of its yearly revenue. Said Chandler: "We have made some sacrifices to build this strategic plan. We have put some debt on the balance sheet but can manage it very well."

Chandler has also put the entire corporation through a vast internal restructuring and reorganizing aimed at making it more efficient, competitive and profitable. One major change has been the institution of specialized factories. Under that system, different manufacturing plants have been designated as either the sole or main suppliers of certain products on a global basis.

A key ingredient in Kodak's improved efficiency has been a war on waste, said senior vice-president William Fowle. Overall, waste in Kodak plants worldwide was reduced by five per cent in 1986 and another 10 per cent last year. Kodak is also demanding higher-quality products from its suppliers. Fowle pointed out that 190 major suppliers around the world are now enrolled in a formal program that involves training sessions and improved working relationships with Kodak subsidiaries. These initiatives have dramatically cut Kodak's costs and increased the output per employee by about five per cent in each of the past three years, said Fowle.

Chandler said that he is deeply disturbed by the decline of manufacturing in the United States. He pointed out that manufacturing represented only 20 per cent of the U.S. gross domestic product in 1985, compared with a figure of 28 per cent in 1960. Chandler added that the trend reveals that the United States is becoming a post-industrial, service-based economy, and he claimed that the net result will be a decline in the standard of living for the entire country. But Chandler says that he is determined to maintain Kodak's growth plan now in effect will accomplish just that.

Kodak as a major force in manufacturing, adding that he is confident the growth plan now in effect will accomplish just that.

—DARCY JENSEN

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BUSINESS WATCH

Bowling instead of dollars

By Peter C. Newman

Politics discussed in a private conference in Paris earlier this month will eventually eliminate the trading floors at Canada's stock exchanges.

"What we're moving toward is a one-world stock market operated out of an international network of black boxes that will stay on screen 24 hours a day, seven days a week," I was told by Andrew Kriewasser, president of the Investment Dealers Association of Canada (IDA), who will be a representative to the French meeting of the securities committee of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. "When you have that kind of technology—and it's available now—there's no need for a physical trading floor, only computers. There'll be lots of opposition from the existing floor traders, of course, but you can't fight the future too long without becoming uncompetitive. So the much more action for Canada would be to plug directly into the new system. Only by not having to go through New York, London or Paris can we stay as real players in the international investment game."

The inevitable modernization process that the new trends imply will inevitably force Canada to delegate a considerable degree of sovereignty to a yet-to-be-established international securities commission. "All of the participating nations may have to come under a Central Nations-like regulatory agency," Kriewasser professed. "That's quite scary, because in Canada at the moment we have yet to agree even on a federal securities commission. What a bunch of bebopists we are. Yet somebody will eventually have to speak for this country with one voice." (Unlike the United States, where Washington's Securities and Exchange Commission rules the roost, Canadian stock markets are supervised by provincial commissions in Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, Manitoba and British Columbia.) "You can't delegate trading activities to any electronic device unless you have effective international trading regulations," added the president.

"The Americans are currently at the leading edge of the trend to accomplish precisely that," Kriewasser continued, "and one of the topics we discussed in Paris was how to establish securities criteria over the most widely traded securities. I can conceive of two-level markets where some of our leading issues, including Intel, Stein, Alcoa, as well as government of Canada, provincial and

hydro bonds would be traded internationally, while there might be a separate market for specifically North American or Canadian and even local securities."

Such forecasts sound revolutionary, but the exchanges in London and Cincinnati have already eliminated their trading floors, and others, including Copenhagen, are preparing to follow their example. Within the next few weeks the Toronto Stock Exchange will begin an experiment with a modified computer-



Kriewasser, a reborn of black boxes

trading system that will involve 26 of its most active interlisted securities.

Kriewasser, who spent more than 20 years in the public service (including a spectacularly successful stint as general manager of Bibo 67), is an optimistic character whose greatest anxiety is the exponential magnification in the influence of Canada's Big Six banks. "The banks would like to take over our trading, as well as much of the computer service business," he said, "and of course they already own most of the large in-

vestment underlings. It will take a while for these acquisitions to shake themselves out, but it's pretty clear that if a bank buys you, they run you. Despite the growing power of the banks, I just don't believe it's inevitable that we'll accept the levels of corporate concentration that already exist in Europe."

What Kriewasser says that he fears is the equivalent of West Germany's "universal banking system," where half a dozen financial institutions control almost all of the country's banking, trust, insurance and securities businesses. "They have such power," he added, "that the Frankfurt exchange is only open 20 minutes a day. A few bankers walk in and transact some business before going off for a afternoon. But 90 per cent of the trades are done in private without the benefits of an auction market. If the six Canadian banks keep growing, we could end up with some version of Germany's universal banking system."

Meanwhile, the investment industry is growing even faster than the banks. A year ago the Investment Dealers Association had 60 members, there are 85 now, and Kriewasser's office is processing at least 50 new applicants. Most of the newcomers are major foreign investment houses and the capital of one-Tokyo's Nomura Securities is far greater than that of all the Canadian securities dealers combined. The effect of this influx will be to stiffen competition on an unprecedented scale so that the Street will face some drastic shake-outs.

"It isn't clear yet where this new financial system of ours is going to wind up," Kriewasser told me. "There was speculation of about \$1 billion in the Canadian investment industry a year ago, today the total is \$2.6 billion. Currently, \$1 billion of these new funds is not being used in the business, which means that the firms are seriously over-capitalized and not making adequate profits on investment. Return on equity in brokerage houses used to be about 20 per cent. Now it's down to eight per cent. That can't continue without some serious corporate reorganizations."

Whatever the prospects for the recently recognized movement, however, it might be, the future of stock-exchange floor traders is set. They don't have one. And the \$20-million Toronto Stock Exchange trading floor opened only five years ago? That's simple. Predicts Kriewasser: "It will make a great bowling alley."

TRIUMPH OF AN 'OUTCAST'

The site, on Ottawa's Regent Point, commands a spectacular view. To the west, there are glimpses of white water where the Ottawa River flows under the Portage Bridge. Across the locks of the Rideau Canal looms the great Gothic bulk of the Parliament Buildings. It is, as Governor General Lord Grey pointed out to future prime minister Robert Borden and his wife when they visited the Point in 1904, a natural place to build. What Grey had in mind was "a Gothic structure in harmony with the Parliament Buildings." The week Lord Grey's prophecy is being fulfilled, although not quite in the way he imagined, Grey envisioned a hotel on the site. Instead, 84 years later, Regent Point is the home of a grand showcase for Canada's national collection of art. With its glass-covered colonnade and its geometrical, neo-Gothic tower, the new National Gallery of Canada has become, even before its official opening on May 21, a landmark.

Landmark: For its Canadian creator, Israeli-born architect Moshe Safdie, the gallery is a landmark of another kind—a triumph over return to the country where he first made design history with Habitat. After envisioning that radical experiment in high-density housing for Montreal's Expo 67, Safdie remained an outsider in the Canadian architecture establishment. Invited to work abroad, he became a leading figure in the reconstruction of Jerusalem (page 38). But suddenly, the 48-year-old architect is upon a major force in the country where he first developed his craft.

In addition to the National Gallery, Safdie has designed Quebec City's Musée de la civilisation, expected to open in the fall, and a major addition to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. As well, Safdie recently won a commission to design Toronto's new, \$336-million Ballet Opera complex. The man who has spent the past two decades juggling between his offices—and homes—in Boston and Jerusalem has emerged as

Canada's master builder of cultural institutions.

To Safdie, the National Gallery represents his most mature and complex work, the one by which he would like to be judged (page 36). With more than 40,000 square feet of exhibition space and with public areas designed as an imperial scale, the new \$117-million building is the most dramatic expression of a complex creator. Safdie's work inspires intense feelings. While Pierre Théberge, director of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, praises his "very considerable intellect and clear vision," others dismiss him as someone who talks better than he designs. Because of his legendary charm, he has been called "the Great Shaul of Canadian architecture." In his design since Habitat, Safdie has been hard to pin down. As the range of developments in his native Israel shows—from colonies to creative reconstruction of Jerusalem's old quarters—it can be visionary, exuberant or modestly self-effacing, with no instantly recognizable imprint.

Outcasts: The creator of these projects is a cultural hybrid—and a man of contradictions. Said Shlomo Kalk, the mayor of Jerusalem: "He is everywhere a little bit the outsider—and everywhere the insider." Safdie prefers to read Hebrew but is fluent in English and is fearfully articulate in both. Indeed, he has published four books about architecture, all but one aimed at the general reader. A fifth, *Jerusalem: The Future of the Past*, a vivid account of his experiences in Israel, will appear next month. In architecture circles, he is regarded as a man of rapid intellect who distrusts the overly intellectual, a romantic with a sound business sense. And California-based architect Frank Gehry, a Canadian who calls Safdie a "total friend," said that he has a reputation for being a "jabber and a biter below the belt."

Much of that reputation for conversation stems from a now-infamous article that Safdie wrote in 1981 for *Atlantic*



Safdie and his wife, Michal: a National Gallery triumph



Merely. Entitled "Private Jokes in Public Places," it spelled out Saffdie's credo of contemporary architecture, which stresses the social value of design and the importance of creating humane environments. He lamented the collapse of Modernism, the idealistic movement that began with the century and called for an architecture that was functional, understated and socially committed. What has replaced it, so-called Postmodernism, with its historical references and stick-on decorations—seemed to Saffdie much worse. To him, it represented a turning away from social purpose to a style that is inward, self-centred and ultimately pessimistic about architecture's possibilities. In the article, Saffdie named colleagues—in fact, nearly every eminent architect in North America and one or two in Europe—managing to alternate a large part of the professional community. "I yelled at him when I first met him," said Gehry, who was attacked in the piece. "Then I realised he is a nice guy. This is just his way of exchanging information."

Success: What irritated many of Saffdie's peers was the way he adopted a high moral position. American architect Lawrence Halprin says that both he and Saffdie are "faded kibbutzniks," people who are inquisitive, but cannot always live up to, the high socialist ideals of Israel's collectivist movement. Certainly, the key to understanding Saffdie is his Middle Eastern background. Born in the Mediterranean port of Haifa, the oldest of four children, Saffdie was affected by his hard-driving father, a successful textile importer. Said Saffdie's younger sister, Montreal artist, Sylvia Saffdie: "Our father always told us to think big." And the researchers her brother as "uncontrollable, he wanted to be emperor of the world." When Moshe was 10, the family emigrated to Canada, forced out of business when David relinquished control. Importing Saffdie's father moved the family to Montreal where he established himself in the textile business. After the sun and shade of Haifa, Saffdie said, Montreal seemed "dirty, dismal and dead."

Yet, in its own way, Canada seems to have inspired Saffdie. He had been a poor student in Haifa but in Montreal's Westmount High he started to flourish. Although Saffdie's decision to study architecture was a sudden one-based, he recalled, on not much more than a propensity for doodling houses and cars, he was a string of prizes and scholarships at the McGill University School of Architecture. Douglas Shadlow, one of his architectural professors, said that Saffdie "had none of the adolescent hang-ups you often get with students. He was totally confident. Saffdie's father moved the family to Nova Scotia, a Polish Holocaust survivor who supported Saffdie while he was in school."

At McGill, Shadlow told, Saffdie was second with an obsession that he shared with him—what Shadlow calls his "gift of parts," the notion that a single generic element can generate an entire building in the way that housewife develops a recipe. Saffdie's graduating thesis was called "A Three-Dimensional Modular Building System." The accompanying model consisted of modular house-shaped houses placed into a grid of frames, almost like Russian dolls. Saffdie's thesis became the basis for Habitat, which he proposed as an experimental housing exhibit while working with a design team on the plan for Expo 67.

It is a tribute to Saffdie's determination and savvy that Habitat happened at all. The project faced many threats: a committee of engineers claimed it was structurally unsound, and Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau opposed it, preferring a \$40-million, 1,000-foot tower instead. But, over built, Habitat became an enormous success—and it continues to be a desirable address. "Habitat," said Saffdie, with his knack for becoming professional praise on his own work, "was the only project, housing project, to become generally popular."

Maverick: Saffdie had to wait 15 years before getting another commission in Canada. He says that he was unofficially "blacklisted" by the Canadian architectural establishment for his maverick ideas. Particularly galling, he says, was to be excluded from the 1976 competition for Ottawa's National Gallery, which failed to yield a new building. (The first choice of Saffdie in 1962 was made by Pierre Trudon's cabinet.)

Meanwhile, the world began to court Saffdie. He set up an office in Jerusalem in 1970 and in 1978 he became head of the urban design program at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, where he still teaches. Still, his recent professional life has had a roller-coaster pattern. "He has not had an easy career," said his friend, Israeli architect Ada Karmi-Melamede, who last year beat him in a competition to design Israel's new Supreme Court Building.

Opponents: Losing competitions in part of the high-stakes game that design architects play. But far more damaging was Saffdie's involvement with the Columbus Circle development in New York City, a project from which he had to withdraw in the face of almost universal opposition. Saffdie's design for the four acres at the southwest corner of Central Park—which the city had sold to Saffdie's associate, developer Norman Zuckerman—called for two graceful-towered, 68 and 86 stories high, atop a handsome curving plaza, with a vast glass-curved park at its base. It was a design that the city's towers battled with balconies and suspended gardens. But because of the building's size and position, in

winter, snow would come a half-hour early on a mile-long stretch of the park. Columbus Circle attracted many celebrity opponents, including Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Henry Kissinger and Walter Cronkite. Ken Yeang, a British architectural critic Paul Goldberger, when Saffdie had come to lead a "Rogue fashion, writer," called the design "ultra-modern architecture." Last December the project became seriously jeopardized with a successful citizens' lawsuit claiming that the approval process for the \$60-million development was flawed. Saffdie and Zuckerman parted ways, and Saffdie's design now appears to be dead. Saffdie's sister said that her brother was "upset" by the debacle but added, "He has this mechanism for bouncing back."

In fact, his family life appears to be a representative force. At home in Cambridge, Mass., a city served by the Charles River from the towers of downtown Boston, Saffdie leads a private existence with his second wife, Michael Hansen, an Israeli-born scientist whom he married in 1981, and their two young daughters (he has two grown children from his first marriage, one a student of architecture and the other working in the field).

Home: Home is a handsome grey clapboard house on Cambridge Common, built in 1783 for the university's first professor of medicine. Since moving in three years ago, Saffdie has filled the place with light by adding a large living room in the rear with a sloping skylight roof. For a man who is building three museums—two with holdings of contemporary works—the architect has surprisingly little appetite for the art of his times. "I have no confessions," he wrote in his 1982 book *Form and Purpose*, "but practically speaking that has been done in visual art during my lifetime has had my sympathies for my understanding of the artwork."

Accordingly, Saffdie goes wall to wall with art by modern—traditional quills, Saffdie will hang and embrace.

Speech: Saffdie maintains a gruffing pace. He once estimated that he spent the equivalent of three working months a year in the air. "If I then I get my designing done," he said. Graphic illustrations of that come recently when Saffdie flew across the United States with Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MFA) director Thorburn. The extensive picture of their trip was in visit American museums, but Thorburn said that what he really wanted to do was to tell Saffdie that, after four months of work, he was unhappy with the architect's design for a major addition to the museum and wanted a new plan.

"I was apprehensive that we would have one hell of a battle," recalled Thorburn. On one flight, Thorburn explained his concerns and Saffdie listened. And then, while the director watched unimpressed, Saffdie, working from memory, redrew every room of the new project. On another flight, the architect redrew the drawings on paper sheets and later transmitted them to his Boston office. Final drawings were ready four days later.

The most addition, the National Gallery and Saffdie's other high-profile Canadian assignments are looking like an unwittingly to the country's cultural life. This fall marks the opening of his Musée de la civilisation in Québec. It is a grand statement—a great statement—building that blends easily into the 17th-century architecture of the old city. Last month he unveiled his latest set of plans for the addition to the MFA, due to be completed in the spring of 1990. And two months ago he accepted the plan of the Toronto Ballet-Opera competition. Winning has convinced Saffdie to open a Toronto office.

Content: It is Saffdie's professionalism, as much as his legendary pessimism, that has won him as much recent success as the clearly fought Toronto Ballet-Opera contest. Saffdie was successful—according to three members of the panel—because he was the best listener and the quickest to understand the site and the needs of professional staff. In addition, and architect Roger Dutoit, who organized the competition, Saffdie had created a design that "had a certain magic and nobility but was totally accessible."

Saffdie's return to Canada's architectural landscape clearly pleases him. "He seems especially happy to work in a country where he feels at home, something he has not felt in the United States. But although he is mellower and more analytical than when he left Canada, he still wants to grapple with what he sees as the central problem of architecture—the way we work and live in the city." Saffdie added "I feel clearly that the cycle started with Habitat should come full circle." He has thought of setting up a small workshop within his office to make theoretical studies of significant sites. "But," he continued, "without the real pressures of politics and developers, it is still in the air. It's something you have to do in real life." In spite of having seen so many generous Canadian projects, Saffdie still dreams of creating new ways of dealing with urban problems. Obviously, the master of Habitat is still thinking big.

—JEFFREY JAMES in Boston



Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67 in Montreal is the cultural realm.



Saffdie with Toronto's Ballet-Opera complex: vision



A CAREER OF GRAND DESIGNS

COVER

Christopher Lehmann-Haupt of The New York Times has called his work "pure genius." And during his 27-year career, Moshe Safdie has tackled an astonishing variety of projects. His creations include (clockwise): sensitive renovations to Jerusalem's old quarter; his groundbreaking Habitat; the serene Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem; the Hosh renovation project in Jerusalem, in which Safdie has preserved the tradition of courtyard life; an apartment complex in Singapore, where generous use of terraces recalls Habitat; and a housing project in Aspen, Colo., that blends into the mountains.



THE NEW TEMPLE OF ART

A hundred years ago Canada's National Gallery, then an offshoot of the Royal Canadian Academy of Art, moved into its second quarters on Ottawa's O'Connell Street, upstairs from a government library on the left. A local newspaper of the day praised the move, remarking that proximity to the "better known and more popular" library show could only boost attendance. Today, with a new and imposing building that is already the talk of the town, the National Gallery hardly needs that kind of help—but its administration is not taking any chances. Last week, in an extraordinary public-relations move, the gallery offered an early-morning tour by breakfast daily and a 30-minute tour in Ottawa's evening hours and shakes its drivers, cabbies, hairdressers, hotel employees, tourist workers and virtually anyone who works with the general public.

Cover story The request to the tour, according to its organizers, was overwhelmingly positive, a sign that the building is likely to be an enormous popular success. That is in large part because the new National Gallery, under construction for 4½ years—offers a series of stunning spatial experiences unusual in contemporary architecture and in marked contrast to the banalness of the converted office block that housed the gallery's collections for the previous 28 years. "I hope," said the gallery's architect, Moshe Safdie, "that people walking through the building will find the complexity and range of emotions you experience listening to a piece of music."

In fact, visitors will be able to visit through the building with Safdie, the architect, getting the finishing touches



Details of the National Gallery's series of ribs, but "added it in '97"

to a tape-recorded tour of its evolution in which he tells the story of the gallery's construction and tells about his approach to architecture. But even without the guide, Safdie's intentions

glared in Colonnade is the 138-foot-high Great Hall, with its spectacular views of the Parliament Buildings and the Ottawa River. High in the gleaming glass facets of the tower are white, triangular, sail-like blinds operated by remote control by air ducts on glass or in close off the enormous roof on a winter night. For ceremonial occasions, an immense purple and vermilion tent can be rigged from the sewer to dampen the hall's reverberant acoustics.

Light For the gallery's art collection, the architect has provided a variety of spaces. European and historic Canadian art is housed in barrel-vaulted spaces that resemble the traditional Karapane picture gallery. Filtered light from long central skylights is controlled by solar-actuated blinds. To channel daylight to the lower-level Canadian historical galleries, Safdie designed an ingenious shaft lined with the reflective material Mylar and with a system to diffuse the light at the base. The results are highly effective, said Charles Hill, curator of

are clear enough—to provide a building for the quiet contemplation of art that also responds to a written request from the gallery's advisory committee to give "a sense of approach and a sense of continuity appropriate to a great national institution."

Groundwork Every side of the 350,000-square-foot, three-level building is clad in pink and grey granite from Tadoussac, Que. But it is the south facade, with its glass neo-Gothic tower, that greatly confounds the city of Ottawa. Still, the sense of ritual sought by the architect is nowhere more apparent: than in the entry to the building. The main doors lead into an entrance pavilion, up a gently inclined,

historic Canadian art: "The works glow. It is nice to see the collection in an architecture that is worthy of it."

Safdie is known as an architect who believes that a building lives by light—a belief that occasionally brought him into conflict with some of the gallery staff. There was public disagreement over whether the clean, white spaces designed for contemporary art should be illuminated by natural or artificial light, with Safdie insisting on letting in the sun. The dispute became public when Safdie made a pitch to Communications Minister Flora MacDonald for an additional \$1.8 million for skylights. In the end, Safdie got his way. However, the building committee's requirements banned natural light in other galleries—including the sculpture spaces created for prints, drawings and photography, which are susceptible to damage by the sun. Natural light is also banned in the temporary exhibit area as a way to eliminate works.

Just how well that area and its movable walls function will not be apparent until the June 16 opening of a major survey of the work of French painter Edgar Degas, organized by former National Gallery director Jean Sutherland Riggs in co-operation with the Louvre in Paris and New York's Metropolitan Museum.

Garden At the heart of Safdie's vision, says Israeli-born urban planner Moshe Aelias, is "a kind of inner space—the soul, the essence, the hidden courtyard." For visitors suffering from museum fatigue, the architect has provided two courtyards, one with a garden and fountains, the other with a glass-balconied pool that looks down onto a lower river recreation area. Between them is what promises to be one of the bits of the new building, the Bideau Chapel, which was once part of a convent on Ottawa's Bideau Street. A glass space of 18th-century neo-Gothic woodwork. It was rescued from demolition in 1970 and re-installed in the gallery.

Already the Bideau Chapel has become a symbol of community involvement that would have been unthinkable with the gallery's previous quarters. The Friends of the National Gallery have raised \$600,000 for the restoration of the chapel, their efforts culminating in a gala evening at the gallery on May 6 with 1,800 guests and the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra playing in the Great Hall. "There was electricity in the air," said Safdie, who attended with his wife, Michal. "People actually had tears in their eyes. There's one thing about this building—it just is not."

—GEOFFREY JAMES in Ottawa



Safdie at Hebrew Union College: Transforming the look of Israel's oldest city

BUILDING IN A TROUBLED LAND

When a 32-year-old Moshe Safdie returned to Israel in 1987 after a 15-year absence, he carried with him vivid childhood memories of clean, white, modern buildings set on hills high with palms and green pine. He had a naive realization. As the architect recalls, he'd never outside Tel Aviv "saw" a house. Like the airport in a small developing country, Haifa, the parental small town of Safdie's youth, seemed not to be "a rather nice hillside city, in fact much better than Naples, with lots of peeling stone." There he has observed the country of less than one million had absorbed nearly two million immigrants, and was suffering from severe suburban sprawl. Safdie was confronted by "the very last word in bureaucratic architecture, raw after row of five-story apartment buildings set on columns needed like soldiers, with paved parking lots between them."

Since that visit, Safdie has made his mark on his native Israel. Indeed, he has transformed the look of his oldest city, Jerusalem. Since opening an office

there in 1979, he has undertaken a wide range of projects: private houses, major renovations in the old city, two national colleges, a children's memorial near the Holocaust Museum and a master plan for that most sacred of all Jewish monuments—the famous Wailing Wall, where Jews have been praying since AD 70. Said Israeli architect Ada Kornblum: "Moshe has had an influence as Jerusalem, and Jerusalem on him."

Here Safdie returned to Israel as the hero of Haifa, Montreal's reconstruction having surprised the Israeli government even asked him to set up Habitat, Israel, a system of manufacturing prefabricated housing units built on a large scale. Safdie began consulting between Canada and Israel, working with engineers and creating possible sites. After meeting with the Jordan-based architect Ferni Edmund de Rethel, who offered to raise funds, he modified the plan: to create new towns—complete with industries—to house Arab refugees in Israeli-occupied territories.

In that period Israel was still struggling from a swift victory in the Six Day

Woe. With victory came responsibility for the Palestinian lives under appeal: embroiled in reform camps, Sadik spent a year planning the housing project, but in 1992 Prime Minister Levi Eshkol decided to abandon the scheme, refusing to deal with the refugee problem until Israel had a peace treaty with all its Arab neighbors. "We were incredibly naive," recalled Sadik. "A great opportunity was missed."

Instead, government policy turned toward establishing an Israeli presence on the West Bank by building Jewish settlements in urban areas—what Israelis call "facts on the ground." Sadik has always stood apart and has refused to build on the West Bank. But within the old borders of Israel, and especially in Jerusalem, he has established some interesting facts of his own.

Cyclotronic. In 1970 he agreed to produce a master plan for the famous Wailing Wall and its adjoining plaza. While working on his proposal, Sadik bought a badly damaged house in the area, a crumbling remnant of Crusader, Ottoman and Jewish architecture. His redesign, featuring an arched skylight, divided interior spaces and breathtaking views of the city, is a seamless blend of the old and the new. Sadik now lives there for several months each year.

The architect says that he felt the place, a quiet thoroughfare for Arabs on their way from the village of Shiloh to the Muslim quarter, provided an intimacy for the private act of prayer. At night, when seen from his balcony, the black-clad worshippers lined up against the immense, hooded wall have the exposed look of men standing in front of a firing squad. His dream was to plan for expansion 40 more feet of the Wall. Worshippers would then be able to stand on the original street built by King Herod, and the plaza would rise in tiers. And a colonnaded walkway would give Arabs access to the city.

Sadik's dreams for the Wailing Wall plaza remain unachieved, largely because the project is a political minefield. Jerusalem's influential and highly conservative Orthodox community has resisted all efforts to redesign the sacred area. As Karim-Mohamed put it, "It's the Holy City—and it's hard to build holy."

Still, Sadik, who began the project when he was 30, remains optimistic. "If the political conditions are right," he said, "it will be built by the time I'm 50."

Completion of the Yishuvim Pe'ot Jezot, a suburban village that looks down on the Wailing Wall, has also been held up. When Sadik was approached by rabbis Meir and Jerusalem Shimon in 1980, they had already dismissed two other architects. Asked whether he would design a traditional or a modern building, Sadik replied, "If I succeed, you won't be able to tell." Sadik's final design is his most controversial in Israeli nature: outer stone walls with stone that reveal inside a honeycomb of con-

trilled walkways, modest buildings, courtyards and gardens. "It doesn't have the obvious 'you must Israeli building do,'" said Karim-Mohamed. Added retired city engineer Amos Niv, who has publicly disagreed with Sadik: "With 100, Meir has finally understood Jerusalem."

Reps. Sadik's most recent work in Jerusalem is equally surprising—and unlike anything he has done before. Twelve years ago he was approached by the director of the Eliezer Museum, an enclave of two large buildings on a hilltop outside of Jerusalem, to design a memorial to the 15 million children who perished under the Nazis. The building, completed last year, is radical-



View from Sadik's house; projects ranging from houses to a major plan for the famous Wailing Wall

crete arches. The plan also called for a synagogal skylit by prism glass.

But after construction started, especially with the rabbin model—a replica when Sadik discovered that they were involved in what he said was a misleading program to attract donors. The rabbi turned against the design, even accusingly tapping over interior stone around themselves. Sadik won the ensuing lawsuit. But while the Yishuvim's living quarters are now occupied, the building is still unfinished.

Screens. By contrast, Ekseve Ufot College (1982), outside the city walls and on the same street as the famous King David Hotel, bears witness to a perfectly harmonious relationship between architect and master. The college is a serene, understated ensemble of macro-

ly different from the documentary spirit of the nearby museum. The entrance to the memorial, which is built into the hillside, leads past a few portraits of children and into a disorienting dark space. Inside, a single candle in everywhere reflected to infinity by semi-circular glass. Rounded voices intone the names of children, where they were born and their age when they died.

After the morning hours of the Eliezer Museum, the quiet space of Sadik's memorial allows for grief. Then, in the architect intended, the exit leads out into sunlight and a sweeping view of the Jackson Hill. In a troubled land, Sadik has created a monument without morbidity—a moving symbol of hope.

—GEOFFREY JAMES in Jerusalem



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Schimmel and Woo: a science breakthrough after decades of investigation

SCIENCE

New secrets from the cell

During the past 50 years scientists have learned a great deal about the genetic code that cells use to control the formation of basic elements of animal life—protein matter created by living cells and found in skin, hair, bones, hormones and enzymes. Still, researchers lacked critical information about specific stages in the cell formation initiated by deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), a complex chemical compound that is found within chromosomes. Then, last week, two researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge announced a stunning breakthrough. Writing in the current issue of the British scientific journal *Nature*, molecular biologists Ming Xiao and Paul Schimmel reported that they had managed to decipher a second genetic code—a discovery that sheds light on later stages in protein formation.

That discovery could eventually have far-reaching value in genetic engineering—a rapidly changing field where scientists have already conducted successful experiments. Researchers at the University of California at Davis have successfully cloned the embryos of a sheep and a goat, creating a "geep"—an animal with a goat's face and a sheep's woolly coat. Also, researchers are implanting the gene

that controls production of human insulin in bacteria and initiate new supplies of that hormone to lessen and control the dangerous effects of diabetes. But one MIT researcher stressed that any developments based on the new findings still lay in the future. Declared the researcher, "This is fundamentally important to understanding the molecular biology of the cell. But it has no immediate practical applications."

But the finding solved a puzzle that had baffled scientists since researchers James Watson and Francis Crick began to unlock the secrets of the genetic code in 1953. In that year those pioneers in molecular biology learned that DNA consists of groups of chemical subunits, or bases, that twist the shape of a double helix spiral. And by 1967 other researchers who had built on those foundations knew that different combinations of those bases provided blueprints for the formation of specific proteins.

In that process, the master code contained in a strand of DNA is copied into a similar strand of genetic material known as ribonucleic acid, or messenger RNA. Then, other molecules called transfer RNA attach themselves to that messenger RNA in an order specified by the master code. In the final stage of the process, the transfer RNA molecules bind

themselves to specific amino acids—the so-called building blocks of the body—and assemble them in the order needed to make a particular protein. Researchers have long known that each transfer RNA matches up with one of the 20 types of amino acids that are found in cells. But until the MIT breakthrough, they did not understand how that union came about. Schimmel himself has spent the past 30 years trying to discover that answer. In that, he said he believed that he and other researchers may have failed to crack the newly discovered code because they were looking for a complicated explanation. Said Schimmel, "That's probably why it was missed."

Instead, Schimmel said, the second genetic code is elegantly simple. He added that he and his colleagues discovered the tiny piece of an RNA transfer molecule—consisting of

two bases like the bases that form DNA, stuck together—that determined its function. They found that when they removed that section from transfer RNA that matched up with a particular amino acid—alanine—the molecule became inert and did not bind itself to the amino acid. When they inserted that material into another transfer RNA that matched with another amino acid, called glycine, they learned that the second molecule recognized alanine instead. They obtained similar results with a third transfer RNA molecule, once again the molecule arrived in an amino acid—Alexander Rich, another MIT molecular biologist, said that adding or subtracting that single piece of material to transfer RNA produces astonishing results. Said Rich, "It is changing completely the nature of what the molecule does. It is like changing a lamb into a tiger."

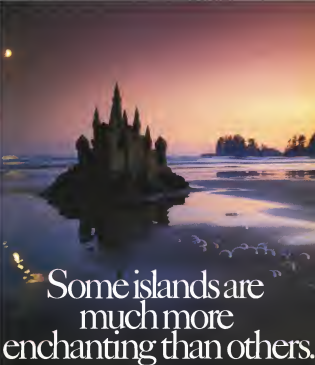
Meanwhile, Schimmel noted that at least six other U.S. research teams are studying other transfer RNA molecules in an attempt to match the molecules with other specific amino acids. Now, said Schimmel, the second genetic code will clearly need up that work. He added, "There will be a lot of results coming out in the next 18 months." Rich declared that "this is the beginning of a big clarification" in molecular biology. The work to which scientists will put that knowledge are still unclear. But because of the MIT researchers' dogged investigations, the explanation of a crucial stage in a vital process is now known to be simple—and easily understood.

—MALCOLM GIBBS with newspapered reports

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MEDIA WATCH

The public's right to know

By George Bain

The suppression of almost anything that we, the media, think we have a right to see is subject to being denounced as censorship. Aspects of the law that give us pause—such as the requirement in the law of defamation that to have access to the defence of truth a defendant must be prepared to prove truth—are said to inhibit investigative journalism and to constitute a sort of legal intimidation in public, anything but full and immediate disclosure of information relative to any matter of current comment is unacceptable to being called a cover-up, and almost any meeting to discuss public business that is not open to the media is likely to be described harshly as "a secret meeting." Naturally, all this said for public openness is represented as springing from no self-interested motive but to be entirely in defence of "the public's right to know."

But what becomes of this asserted right of the public to know if the media, back off from meeting something they professedly have declared to be vital news or subordinate their ordinary criteria of news judgment to executive decisions to report less and to present it in ways to attract less attention—not usually media objectives? The first trial of Ernst Zundel on the charge of publishing news he knew to be false was covered nearly everywhere, mostly to excess. The second trial, which ended last week in a second conviction and a sentence of nine months in jail—the first was required on appeal—got so little coverage that Zundel, who craved over the earlier publicity, denounced the media before the trial was over for having "acted with the utmost of cowardice and lack of civility."

No news are to be wasted on Ernst Zundel, who has adopted as his (so far as we know) self-appointed mission to persuade the world that the mass killing of Jews by the Nazis during the Second World War was a hoax. But the second trial was not simply a rerun of the first, and the charged performance of the media—going from extreme overcoverage to very nearly produced understatement—confirms first echoes of James Thurber's folk of the reformed hawk whose boisterous good spirits when sober become as lightning to his feebly sober, cowering into the furniture when drunk. Thurber's moral was, "You might as well fall flat on your face as lean over too far backward."

Putting aside for the moment the reasons for the media's having learned so far over backward, let's look at some examples. The CBC's main news program, *The National*, did not cover the second trial until the verdict, nor did it have anyone regularly monitoring the proceedings. How, then, could it know if a development occurred that warranted coverage? That's what we have wire services for," John Owen, chief news editor for CBC TV, told me. But the wire service the Canadian media usually rely on, The Associated Press, was not itself covering the trial, except, according to James Peleg, the managing news editor, to send someone to the court "when we figure there is going to be something of importance or unusual interest." When *The Ottawa Citizen* wanted daily coverage, managing editor Scott Hoseney had to arrange with CP to relay, at extra cost, stories from

The second trial got so little coverage that Zundel denounced the media for having acted with 'the utmost of cowardice'

The Toronto Star, the only paper that ran daily staff stories. Even in the *Star*, daily coverage was to a prescribed measure, on the barren of page 2 until, for a mechanical reason, a change to page 4 became necessary, and under a surely attention-grabbing study tag "The Zundel trial." *Maclean's* carried two stories, one explaining the background, the other on the lack of interest signs by the media.

Neither the *Star* nor the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (which succeeded the trial continuously but reported it only on an 18-even basis), until the verdict, felt compelled to put the story on page 1, not even when the presiding judge delivered an exceptionally noteworthy decision. Important to the trial, at the very beginning in a late roundup of the trial, beginning with Zundel's rant against the media, Mike Trickey, Toronto correspondent of Southern News, reported in the *Cities* on April 30—the trial began on January 18—that "The first two differences [between the two trials] came the day after the jury was selected, when district court Judge Ross Thomas . . . told the jury the exact extermination of Jews during

the war was historical fact and didn't have to be proved by the Crown."

Whether through inattention or not, I had not previously seen that in the several newspapers I take or heard it on any of the broadcast media I regularly listen to and thought it was news I should have had. (Although the *Globe* carried it in its metropolitan edition, the story did not carry through to my national edition.) But obviously the terms had been radically altered between trials 1 and 2 because Zundel was charged with spreading false news, the declaration by the judge that the Holocaust was fact, not needing to be proved, relieved the Crown of a significant burden. The Crown would still need to prove that Zundel knew that the news he was spreading was false—proving knowledge is never easy—but it did not need to worry anyone about the news itself. The fact was established and, as a result, Zundel's allegation of a hoax was false.

Several reasons are advanced for the dramatically different second approach of the media to the trial of this obscure publisher for publishing an obscure British writer's pamphlet—*Did Six Million Really Die?*—about which 99 per cent of Canadians would never have heard but for the charge and first trial. One is that a second trial in a second trial-old ground (Hosmer, essentially the same argument in different form—who is Ernst Zundel and who cares what he says?)—also would have been used to justify constrained coverage of the first. Another reason, offered by both Geoffrey Bowers, managing editor of the *Globe*, and CBC's Owen is, essentially, repetition, or—Stevenson words—"My feeling in the first trial was in protest, in that we probably overreacted it."

What is curious, nevertheless, in the guardedness and non-uniformity with which media managers insist that as representations to them, so feeling of pressure, affected their editorial decisions on how to play down the second Zundel trial. Curiously, only Ian Urquhart of the *Star*, the newspaper that (though "judiciously," as he puts it) covered the second trial throughout, acknowledged that he received representations from the Jewish community about the believability of Zundel's hopeful views. The editors also discussed questions of their having consulted among themselves about coverage. All of which is so wry be-



In the new movie, comedy *Shelly Fisher*, actress **Helen Slater** plays a struggling violinist who finds a bag with \$1 million left at her apartment by a drug-dealing acquaintance. Along with her roommate, played by **Melanie Lynskey**, 25, of TV's *Queen Bees*, Slater's character becomes a shopaholic buying outrageous clothing and accessories and cocaine. Slater, a New York-born actress, says that she has conservative spending habits. "It really is surprising for me to buy a dress," added Slater, 36. "I practically grew up in my brother's old blue jeans."



Slater, finding \$1 million and acting out on outrageous shopaholic fantasy

A 1930 report by Lord Durham was at the centre of a royal controversy last week. During a speech to Parliament at the start of a nine-city state visit to Canada, **Queen Beatrix** of the Netherlands praised Durham's report for recommending parliamentary government in Canada—but she overlooked that Durham also said that French-speaking Quebecers should be assimilated into the English majority.



Queen Beatrix: a diplomatic occasion

The queen's oversight provoked the ire of Quebec opposition MHA, who boycotted an official dinner for her. But the Dutch foreign minister, **Hans van den Broek**, said that the remarks were misunderstood. He added, "Just because you mention the Durham Report

doesn't mean you associate yourself with all of it."

Having won a coveted Canada Council Award, Montreal architect **Jacques Rousseau** leads to home with more than \$20,000 this fall, where he will stay at a deluxe apartment for 18 months. Rousseau last week received the gifts as part of the Prix de Rome—an annual prize that recognizes an exceptional Canadian architect in the early stages of his career. Rousseau, 40, a professor at the University of Quebec, says that his profession "has been a lifelong passion."



Davis, Burgess (right): effective in their shared prose

While South African anti-apartheid crusader Archbishop Desmond Tutu is an understandably serious man, he does have a lighter side. It was revealed last week when the Nobel Peace Prize winner spoke in Saskatoon, N.D., where he received an honorary doctorate from Mount Allison University. Also awarded an honorary degree was **Stephen Lewis**, Canada's ambassador to the United Nations, who introduced Tutu, 56. Tutu told what he called some "delicious Tuto stories" circulating in South Africa. In one, Tutu has been bitten twice by a lion. He added, "I was taken down there, but he's chasing

me much trouble. I've come to ask for political asylum."

It was mutual admiration that brought two grand old men of literature together to read before a capacity audience last week at Toronto's Massey Hall. Acclaimed British-born writer **Anthony Burgess**, 71, and award-winning Canadian novelist **Roberta Davis**, 74—who between them have written almost 70 books—were offered to their praise for each other. At a news conference, Burgess described

Davis as one of the best writers in English today. Retorting the compliment, Davis said, "I like Anthony's books for their freshness of language, something that is not common in modern writing." And, added Davis, "anybody who enjoys my books must be all good."



Davis, Burgess (right): effective in their shared prose

Arlene Joan Crawford was a famous woman who eluded early success, writes former husband **Douglas Fairbanks Jr.**, the star of 20 movies, in his just-published memoir, *The Solid Days*. Fairbanks, 76, the son of silent-screen idol **Douglas Fairbanks**, writes about his five years of marriage to Crawford and about his relationships with other celebrities, including **Jean Harlow**, **David Niven** and **Marilyn Dietrich**. As for Crawford, who died in 1977, Fairbanks said that despite her antipathy, she helped his career. He added, "The greatest gift Jean gave me was a refusal up my backside—the encouragement to be courageous."

—YVONNE COX with correspondence reports



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Aid for the impotent

Impotence—the inability to achieve or maintain an erection—affects almost all men at some point in their lives. The fact that the problem frequently occurs during times of stress and anxiety has led many experts to conclude that its main cause is psychological. But a study released last month by Dr. Irwin Goldstein, a urologist at the Boston University school of medicine, said that psychological factors are almost always secondary to physical ones in explaining impotence. And he says that the problem can be eased by drug therapy. He added that "the urologist has replaced the psychologist and psychiatrist" as the medical professional most capable of helping men overcome the problem. Goldstein said his studies showed that treatment of the drug Papaverine—which dilates blood vessels—was successful in helping 90% of his patients maintain an erection long enough to enjoy sexual intercourse.

Many medical experts say that they do not question the effectiveness of Papaverine, which has been used in Canada to treat impotence since 1965. Still,



Laker: Men make love with their heads.

some have criticized Goldstein for underestimating the role that psychological factors play and the genuine need of many men to understand—and conquer—their anxiety and concerns. Said Samuel Laker, a professor of family studies at the University of Guelph in southern Ontario: "Physiological factors are important, but they are not the whole story. Men make love with their heads and their genitals."

In healthy men, erection occurs when sexually arousing thoughts or physical stimulation cause the release into the bloodstream of chemical substances called neurotransmitters. These substances cause tiny receptors known as pampers at the base of the penis and trap blood inside the penis shaft. But researchers say that, for reasons not fully understood, the pampers can simply fail to operate. In addition, such factors as advancing age and alcohol abuse can lead to a constriction of the vessels that carry blood into the penis. Indeed, one-half of men over the age of 50—many of whom suffer from poor circulation—experience bouts of impotence. Papaverine is injected with a tiny needle into the mid-shaft of the penis—an area relatively insensitive to pain—up to two hours before sexual intercourse. The drug temporarily expands the arteries that bring blood into the shaft—allowing, as a result, a complete erection.

Still, many psychologists and medical experts say that it would be wrong to rely solely on medical means to treat impotence. Experts point out that job-related stress, nervousness about sexual adequacy, boredom with a particular sexual partner—and even fear of impotence itself—can all contribute to the problem.

According to Montreal urologist Yosh Taguehi, author of the recently published book *Private Parts: Dr. Taguehi's Guide*, which deals with men's sexual systems, about 60 per cent of his patients with such highly stressful jobs as chief executive officers frequently suffer from impotence. Also common, he says, is the patient who can enjoy sex with one partner but not with another. Taguehi maintains that at least one-third of the instances of impotence that he has observed are rooted in psychological causes. He added that in those cases, he recommends that the patients see a psychiatrist or sex counsellor. According to the University of Guelph's Laker, psychologists are increasingly discovering new and complex connections between the physical and psychological causes of impotence. Indeed, for many men, the knowledge that they have access to effective medical treatment will help relieve the anxiety that contributes to the problem.

—VICTOR OSTER

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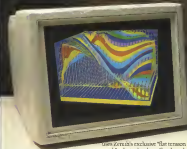
Camouflaged by cattails and reeds, two black ducks recently built a feather-bed nest on the muddy edge of Bass Pond, a wetland 65 km southwest of Sudbury, Ont. And in other locations on the 200-acre marsh, ducks of five different species have also settled in. But until this spring the reedy wetland that attracted the migrating waterfowl did not exist. Instead, the site was covered by grassland. But last July members of Ducks Unlimited Canada, a Winnipeg-based national organization of more than 70,000 duck hunters and conservationists, finished a \$60,000 job—and created the pond. Said John Blain, Ontario manager of the nonprofit organization, which is celebrating its 50th year of wetland conservation: "As with all of our projects, we just put on our hip waders and got to work."

The Bass Pond project, among others, may take on additional significance because, according to biologists affiliated with the organization, a severe drought on the Canadian Prairies is currently threatening the survival of about 30 million ducks—more than half of Canada's duck population. The situation echoes the circumstances that led to the founding of the conservation group in the late 1890s: a protracted drought devastated the Prairie wetlands and jeopardized the existence of 70 per cent of North America's 35 duck species. As a result, alarmed U.S. sportsmen established Ducks Unlimited in 1981 and helped organize the Canadian chapter the following year. During the past five decades its members have raised \$350 million to create and preserve more than 4,500 Canadian marshes, ponds and bays.

Other conservationists point out that the ultimate aim of Ducks Unlimited is to ensure the preservation of ducks for hunters. "That can be seen as the rationale behind what they do," acknowledges Paul Gross, executive director of the Ottawa-based Canadian Nature Federation. But, Gross added, "their commitment to restoring wetlands is unquestionable." For the sportsman's part, declared Blain, "our philosophy is that those who benefit from a resource are the ones who should be saving it."

—VICTOR SWINER

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Car wash attendants; scantily dressed women, police checks and heavy traffic

SEXES

A wash on the wild side

From the outside, the one-story grey building looks like dozens of other run-down garages in Montreal's working-class east end. In fact, the building, which sits between a mirror alley and a bar on Montigny Street, houses a car wash. But it attracts so much business that there are often half a dozen or more cars lined up outside the unpretentious structure, waiting to get in. The reason is its attendants: six scantily dressed women who soap down cars to the strains of blaring rock music. A small sign over the door announces that the establishment is *Lease Auto Erotique—Erotic Car Wash*. Said co-owner Jacques Mathieu: "Boyles bars and erotic clubs always do well in this city, so we saw no reason why an erotic car wash wouldn't be a success."

The car wash is the latest addition to Montreal's already broad array of erotic—and entrepreneurial—business ventures. Among them are strip shows and so-called peep shows—which allow customers to look at, but not touch, nude or semi-nude women. Sex-show impresarios say that their establishments provide a harmless outlet for sexual desire. Still, many people condemn them as openly pornographic.

When the Erotic Car Wash first opened on April 1, some residents of the area complained about the increased traffic and objected to the fact that local children clustered in front of the doors, trying to get a glimpse of the attendants. But this controversy subsided after the owners told the young women to retreat to a dressing room during lulls in business. Since its launch, however, traffic has been heavy, with 25 to 75 drivers pulling in on most days for the \$12, 10-minute service.

Still, other provincial communities have tougher their stance against the growth of similar establishments. For many Quebec City residents, the first straw was the opening in March of Joli-Corps—Presty Bros., a club that has booths that surround a small rotating stage where a naked woman performs an erotic dance. For RIA men may enter a booth and watch the dance in private for about 20 minutes.

In response to residents' complaints, city authorities recently ordered a 100-day moratorium on new licenses for so-called erotic spectacles until after public hearings, scheduled to take place last week, are completed. Social Communications Services information officer Yves Lévesque: "We

felt we had to stop back and look at the situation before it got out of hand." Still, Joli-Corps director Pierre Gagnon said that although his business prohibits sexual contact, most customers leave satisfied and with a desire for nothing more than a cold beer.

Drivers pulling into the Erotic Car Wash are forbidden to leave their vehicles or have any direct contact with the attendants. A team of two to four young women—dressed in anything from shorts and halter tops to business-suits over the car, soaps it, then rinses and dries it with chamois cloths. Some dance to the rock music, and some pour

their bodies against the windows. Attendants report that customers frequently make sexual propositions. Despite that, the owners say they have experienced little difficulty in hiring staff, who earn from \$100 to \$125 a day, including tips. Said Sylvie Ferland, 25, who has worked at the 24-hour car wash since mid-April: "We just ignore that stuff when it happens."

Meanwhile, Montreal police and morality squad members are monitoring the car wash to ensure that its operators do not violate obscenity laws. Undressed officers also stop by regularly to check for disturbances, but so far they have reported no incidents. Said *Jeune Presse* reporter, 36, an attendant and former laundress: "It's better working here than in a tavern bar. There are no fights and there's just a lot less trouble."

The owners say that they are so pleased with their initial effort that they are planning to introduce a ladies' night and one for heterosexual couples. On those occasions, wearing very little will wash customers' cars. The owners also say that they may plan to open similar car washes in Ottawa and Quebec City. But said Cynthia MacDonell, a feminist activist who has taught in the department of women's studies at Concordia University: "Frankly, I wouldn't want to have a half-naked eye looking about in my car." To some people, the appeal of voyeurism on wheels is clearly a question of taste.

—MICHAEL ROSE AND LISA VAN DERBY
in Montreal

BOOKS

The empire's new clothes

THE FASHION CONSPIRACY: A REMARKABLE JOURNEY THROUGH THE EMPIRES OF FASHION
By Nicholas Coleridge
(Univ. of T, 225 pages, \$29.95)

In the Middle East, Saudi princesses watch videos of the latest Paris fashion collections and then place their orders by telephone. In Tokyo, some of the wealthiest women shop in austere boutiques in which only a few, mostly black, garments are displayed. Those settings are part of the exotic territory author Nicholas Coleridge covers in *The Fashion Conspiracy*, his survey of the highly lucrative fashion industry. Coleridge, who became editor of the British high-society magazine *Harper's & Queen* in 1986, spent three years observing and interviewing influential designers, glamour-magazine editors and sociologists around the world. He concludes in a breezy yet brilliant comment that sets the tone for his book: "Of the 400 people I interviewed, only about 20 seemed altogether new."

According to Coleridge, the fashion business has experienced a major boom in the past decade and now employs 11 million people in the developed world. Meanwhile, such designers as Milan's Giorgio Armani and New York's Ralph Lauren and Calvin Klein gross \$2 billion or more annually through profitable licensing deals for products ranging from underwear to eyeglasses. But behind the surface gloss, Coleridge argues, is a "conspiracy of taste and conservatism" by which designers and fashion editors dictate how women will dress.

Coleridge provides brief profiles of key figures, including Indiana-born designer R.H. Rouse, who refers to Nancy Reagan and his mother-in-law as "my girls." Klein, now one of the leading designers of casual clothes, muses about how he nearly wound up in the supermarket business. Coleridge has a splendid eye for color, and he provides a sympathetic account of the problems of South Korean sweatshop workers. But despite his thorough survey, the author's contempt for the fashion world blunders his analysis. He dismisses the possibility that anything other than greed or vanity might motivate the creation of the end-of-the-spring's latest, Coleridge comes up short.

—FANGLA YOUNG



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THE IMMORTAL BARTFUS

By Aaron Appelfeld
(General, 227 pages, \$24.95)

Israeli writer Aaron Appelfeld's disturbing novel *The Immortal Bartfus* is a portrait of origami and painful silence. A middle-aged survivor of the Nazi death camps who is referred to only as Bartfus saw madness among a "jungle of ill feelings" in India, Israel, with his wife, Rosa, and their retarded daughter, Bridget. The whining and constantly distressed Bartfus has succeeded over the years in setting Bridget—and the couple's married daughter, Paula—against him. The women talk about him in the third person, as if he were not really present. And in truth, Bartfus is not completely contacted in his environment. Frequently, he spends his days in cafes and waiting for the shoe to stare at the sea, from which he receives a mysterious comfort. Appelfeld, who writes in a spare yet direct style, creates a hugely resonant sadness in the character of Bartfus—what Thomas Wolfe called in *Look Homeward, Angel* "the strangeness and loneliness of our little adventure upon the earth."

With horrifying simplicity, Appelfeld (in *The Land of the Cypriotes*) describes Bartfus's experience of the Holocaust in two short sentences: "One after another, feelings were crushed. The suffering was ugly." Having gone through hell, Bartfus expects some recompense for his suffering. But there is none. His life is aimless. Sleep is his only friend. Solitude is his fate. There is a vicious irony in the "immortality" of the book's title: for the lonely man, it merely means the prolongation of his pain.

For the reader, too, Bartfus's life is an existential ordeal. Appelfeld dispenses with speech about his experiences, his business and his death-camp experiences. As a result, the author forces an examination of the man's spiritual plight without distractions. Bartfus—and there is a little of him in everyone—becomes an empathetic figure because it is easy to supply details from each individual's experiences. The novel, which is as uneventful as one of Bartfus's days, ends without resolution. And it is a bitter pill to swallow. But the brilliant book is a prickling reminder that death is the only thing conclusive about life.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

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A renegade in power

OLD MAN OUT-THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ERIC KIRKMAN
By James Swift
(Douglas & McIntyre, 228 pages, \$26.95)

In 1968 the U.S. government issued guidelines requiring Canadian subsidiaries of American companies to send more profits back to head office. The Canadian government failed to protest that action, but Eric Kirkman, then

a Quebec provincial minister, was incensed. He told a reporter, "Ottawa should have told the Americans to stuff it." Then, without consulting his cabinet colleagues, Kirkman wrote a letter to U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler, threatening to set up more Crown corporations as a way of lessening American influence. He also suggested that, through leverage, his government could stop or slow down U.S. mining

and forestry activity in Quebec. That fierce nationalism and confrontational style are still typical of Kirkman, now 74. In his book, *Old Man Out: The Life and Times of Eric Kirkman*, Toronto author James Swift describes how his subject, who began his career as a travelling floor salesman, transformed himself into a maverick politician and self-described malleable senator.

Kirkman, born in 1905 in a working-class district of Montreal, achieved early business success as the owner of a glue company. But in the first of the many surprising moves that the author relates, Kirkman returned to university in 1932 to study economics and six years later became director of the school of commerce at Montreal's McGill University, even though he lacked a postgraduate degree. Later, as president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, Kirkman became the first highly placed anglophone Quebecer to use French in his business dealings. He also spoke out in favor of Quebec Liberal Premier Jean Lesage's reforms and the Quiet Revolution.

According to Swift, Kirkman felt at home when he shifted into Quebec politics in 1960. His domineering style was the biggest reformer of them all, then-Liberal René Lévesque. They worked together to develop a provincial medicine system and to expand the welfare state. But when a Union Nationale victory assigned the Liberals to opposition in 1980, Lévesque became more insistent on his separatist stance and left the party—to help form the Parti Québécois. Kirkman, meanwhile, moved into federal politics.

In that larger forum, Kirkman did not fare as well. At the Liberal leadership convention in 1986, he finished second to last with 336 votes. Unconformable in the central cabinet of Pierre Trudeau, uncomfortable as portfolio general and outstep with federal economic policies, Kirkman resigned from the cabinet in 1971, eventually returning to teaching. Then, during the 1972 election campaign, Kirkman wrote to Trudeau to say that he would vote for the New Democratic Party.

Kirkman's unusual combination of business expertise with nationalist leanings and radical ideas made him an ideal subject for Swift, the author of *The Big Nickel*, a left-of-centre history of Sudbury, Ont.-based Inco Ltd. But despite interviews with many of Kirkman's associates—as well as with the man himself—Swift never explains that paradox. And the author's fast prose fails to do justice to his fascinating subject. Still, *Old Man Out* succeeds because of the sheer vitality of Kirkman, whose political career encompassed some of Canada's most turbulent years.

—MANUEL GREGOR

BOOKS

Beauty and the beasts

QUINN'S BOOK
By William Kennedy
(Penguin, 228 pages, \$22.95)

Writing historical fiction is always a difficult undertaking. The novelist must somehow grasp the elusive spirit of an era that has long slipped from living memory. In creating *Quinn's Book*, William Kennedy—author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning *Homeboy*, which was recently made into a film starring Jack Nicholson—has obviously done his research well. His depiction of upper New York state in the mid-19th century is historically correct, from the elaborate costumes of his characters to the gruesome details of a cholera plague. But accuracy cannot save the novel from its central problem: For the most part, the characters of *Quinn's Book* interact about as engagingly as the perfectly coiffured statues in a museum.

The *Homeboy* of the book reads partly from Kennedy's attempts to cram too much life into it. Taking his cue from the elaborate exaggerations of South American fiction, he has tried to write a complex tall tale about one of America's most rancheroship periods. His hero, Daniel Quinn, is an orphaned boy of 14 when the story opens in 1849 and an experienced Civil War veteran when it closes in 1864. During those years, he spends much of his time pursuing Maed, the beautiful young niece of a riveting actress and politician, Magdalena Calder. Popularly known as "La Ultima," Magdalena is so irresistible, Kennedy writes, that her "presence turned men into spitting, masturbating pigs."

Swift rebuts Torreybell in typical of Quinn's Book, which also features Magdalena's Lazarus-like return from the dead and street scenes of titanic proportions. All those events are described in a style that frequently runs rampant. Worried that Maed might have to become a prostitute, Daniel muses, "The child was to my mind, about to become a spangled wench, a witch of beauty wasted on the bloody and pernicious bed of ramped bymen." That kind of overwriting betrays the desperation of an author trying to give life to an inanimate subject. For all Kennedy's efforts, *Quinn's Book* refuses to breathe.

—JOHN REMORE

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Lepage: the magic spell of words that transcends the limitations of language

A sorcerer of the stage

It looks more like a vacant lot than a theatre stage: a huge rectangle of sand stretching between a parking attendant's booth and a streetlight. Not so *The Dragons' Trilogy* unfolds, that stark setting yields to the transforming power of director Robert Lepage's lush imagination. Using an array of startlingly simple props, from shoe boxes to bed sheets, his eight-person cast creates a haunting mosaic that spans 15 years of Canadian history. The play—which opens at Toronto's Factory Theatre this week for a limited run—has attracted select audiences and won critical raves around the world since its first presentation in Canada in 1986. One Australian columnist praised the "sweeping, inventive complexity" of the work, adding that it "shows just how much Australian theatre can learn from Canada."

The Dragons' Trilogy alone would have established Lepage's reputation as a director. But another show, the autobiographical *Vies*, a story of Lepage's trip to the cultural shores of Europe, has been a runaway success in France and Canada. As well, his French-language version of *A Shakespeare Night's Dream* is the hit of the current theatre season in Montreal, where critics have applauded its

visual charm and physical energy. Next month Torontoans visiting the du Maurier World Stage Festival will have another chance to sample Lepage's artistry—*Zeus and Helen*, a play that he created with Toronto designer Michael Levine and with the company that Lepage helped found, Le Théâtre Repère.

The creative whirlwind behind all these accomplishments is a soft-spoken, gently aloof 30-year-old from Quebec City. The son of a working-class couple—his father drove a taxi, his mother was a housewife—Lepage was first smitten by theatre as a high-school student. He enjoyed le Conservatoire d'art dramatique de Québec in 1976, where he immersed himself in the collaborative, highly politicized style of theatre that was popular in Québec at that time.

That early training has left an indelible mark on his work: most of his shows are shaped by the actors as they develop their own roles and dialogue during rehearsals, guided subtly by Lepage. But the young director has rejected the overly political approach of many of his colleagues. Instead, he bases his dramas on a single, central idea to which all other details are related. Lepage said he believes that "this approach produces

dramas that is more deeply theatrical and organic, less burdened with extraneous social and intellectual messages."

The Dragons' Trilogy shows how well his approach works. The central focus of the play is the phenomenon of Chuvostev, that hybrid community where Russians coexist uneasily with West. The play's parking lot occupies the spot where Québec City's now-vanished Chinese quarter used to exist. In the drama's prologue, an actress takes the audience on an imaginary archeological dig. In the process, she uncovers the story of two Québec girls, Jeanne and Françoise, who lived on the site in the 1860s. *The Dragons' Trilogy*—performed in French, English and Chinese—follows their lives through several decades and the Chuvostev of Québec City, Toronto and Vancouver.

The beauty of the play lies partly in Lepage's skill at creating striking visual settings. Says Paul Thompson, director of Montreal's National Theatre School: "It is his genuine sensitivity that allows his plays to travel so well internationally. His work transcends the limitations of language." That strength, too, is illustrated in *The Dragons' Trilogy*, where ordinary objects and body language are used to engender magical transformations. In one scene, a constellation of stars traced on the floor in tiny lights becomes a city that an airplane—actually the spread-eagled body of an actor—soars over.

The spell cast by *The Dragons' Trilogy* points to another of Lepage's beliefs: that all good theatre is a kind of communion between actor and audience. Speaking of his own performance in the one-man show *Vies*, Lepage revealed, "There are moments when I feel everyone present is decoding the show in the same way at the same time."

Lepage's ability to hold people's attention rests ultimately on his deep mastery of that quality in evident even in *Vies*, a show brimming with technological gimmicks and electronic sound effects. In one particularly powerful scene, Lepage puts on dark glasses to impersonate a blind Italian tour guide. Unable to "navigate" the intricate architecture that he is describing, he touches parts of his own body, ending with the dome of his head. The unexpected juncture of human form and human works is electrifying. Yet still, elsewhere, is fairy romance. In the show's last minutes, the guide's heart, as Lepage's does, is rare indeed.

—JUDY KENDRICK

Foolishness from the fantasy factory

WILLLOW

Directed by Ron Howard

The latest film from the fantasy factory of producer George Lucas, *Willow*, loudly advertises the effort and expense that went into making it. In the tradition of the *Star Wars* films for which Lucas is famous, *Willow* boasts a megabudget (\$50 million), massive deployment of human and animal resources (888 dwarfs, 490 extras, 75 stunt men, 200 pigs, 120 horses, to name a few), and stunning scenic locations (remote mountain regions of New Zealand and Wales). At the same time, *Willow* is a fiercely independent Lucas command: a sophisticated special-effects division that, for one sequence of *Willow*, made a 30-foot, two-headed monster rise out of a castle moat and, for another, transformed a goat to an ostrich to a peacock to a turtle to a lion and, finally, to an old woman with no clothes.

But what the vast Lucas fortune could not buy, it seems to be a single fresh idea or even a straightforward plot line. Based on a story by Luna and directed by Ron Howard (*Backdraft*, *Crossed*), the funny child actor (Dylan McDermott) is nicknamed *Willow* because of shyness from sources as varied as the Bible, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Wizard of Oz* and even from *Star Wars* itself, planting him all together in a whimsical, modeled pastiche. It offers plenty of over-the-top footage for the kids, but parents should consider bringing sleeping shudens to block the picture and a Walkman to drown out the oppressive, over-the-top sound track.

Willow opens its magic thundering ominously in the background and a written prologue that reads, "It is a time of dread." These are early omens of the clichéd dreadfulness of what is to come. An evil sorceress, Queen Bavmorda (Jean Marsh), is casting havoc in

her kingdom as she searches for a baby whom she has learned will eventually overthrow her. Bavmorda has imprisoned all pregnant women in order to destroy the child, who will be recognizable by a special mark on one arm. But a madcade steals the new-

natural. Along the way, however, he picks up a warily rebel soldier, Madmartigan (Val Kilmer), and a pair of pocket-sized, obsession penitents called trevans.

What exactly the motley company is doing as it lurches from forest to forest, from island to snowy mountain camp—with Bavmorda's dim-witted army in hot pursuit—is often irritatingly unclear. The proliferation of quaintly named people (Alra, Velsar, Mergosh and Merginkurt) and places (Delwyn, Nockmar and Tir Adren) adds to the confusion. There are numerous chase and battle scenes, each one more than the last, culminating in a massive confrontation that seems to sum up the foolish extravagance of the entire enterprise. The only bright spot is watching two old sorceresses, Bavmorda and Fox Raven (Powers

Hayes), engaged in an old-fashioned battle between good and evil. But the fact that the evil witch is finally destroyed by an apparently arbitrary bolt of lightning, rather than by any of the protagonists, illustrates the movie's failure to make a satisfying point about anything.

By the end *Willow* gains a faith in himself that enables him to become a sorcerer, and Madmartigan is rewarded by his noble efforts on behalf of the baby. But even the heart-warming message about the power of positive thinking is lost in the general clutter. The best thing that can be said about the movie is that it has a hero who in three days, four inches tall, a hercule staff in slippers and a good, grey-haired witch who appears in the moon—and thereby delays a few stereotypes of Hollywood magic. The end result is that George Lucas, having reached his early aim to become independent of the major studios, has produced an orgy of conspicuous consumption that reflects Hollywood at its worst.

—GLENN KACZYK



Barty: Billy Barty as the High Adwin (below), astrophysicist



Nelson: Catherine Nelson, Scorché, a silver-haired woman in a crumbling British empire

Mad dogs and murderers

WHITE MISCHIEF

Directed by Michael Radford

The year is 1640. The British war machine is running full throttle. But in Kenya, far from the shells and mortar, a different sort of battle is raging. Obnoxious to the likes, members of his Majesty's colonial elite are fighting for survival as their hedonistic consensus crumbles under the forces of age and change. That is the setting for *White Mischief*, Michael Radford's piercingly satiric portrait of the lifestyles of the rich and famous. At the centre of the story is an affair between Diana (Diana Rigg)—the beautiful, young and social-climbing wife of the considerably older Sir Henry "Jack" Delver Beauchamp (John Gielgud)—and the philandering Jocelyn Hay (Charles Dancy). Their indifferent relationship becomes the talk of the colony and thrives until Hay is found murdered in his car, shot point-blank through the head as he drives, lonely road.

Working with co-writer Jonathan Gorn, Radford has adapted James P. Hunt's book of the same name, which focused on the unsolved murder of Hay, the 32nd Earl of Erroll. But transcending Fox's journalistic account, Radford—who is best known for his scrupulous film adaptations of George Orwell's 20th—has created a seductive, caustic comedy of manners. The movie's characters live in a snugly named Happy Valley, north of Nairobi, where the British colonial

settlers wasted no time in making their austere surroundings livable. Transplanting their polo fields and country clubs to Kenya, they looked in a self-lined vacuum, their days and nights an endless blur of champagne, morphine, safaris and costume balls.

The case involving Hay's murder, which disrupts the normally placid community, becomes as complicated as any Agatha Christie plot—with as many murder suspects. In addition to the cuckolded husband, whose financial empire has been steadily crumbling, they include the outlandish Alice de Janel (Sarah Miles), one of Henry's friends—and Hay's long-standing mistress—who had seduced a certain aristocrat for guarding down her husband, and Oswald Delamere (Gavin Hastings), the mayor of Nairobi and yet another of Hay's former lovers.

Helped by characterizing scenic cut, *White Mischief* lives up to its playful billing. Hay, the handsome, swarming earl whose dense signals the beginning of the end for the colony, is the movie's pivotal character. The elegant Dancy, best-known for his role as Sgt. Gary Pinner in the television war-series *The Jewel in the Crown*, is highly suited to the part. As the earl's last true love, the exquisite Scorché—who displayed similar, unquenchable thirst in such recent movies as *The Cuckoo's Nest* and *A Man in Love*—combines sensuality with intelligence. Nelson, recently seen in the wartime drama *Boys and Girls*, is effectively off-kilter as the

frustrated, drug-addicted American bureau who plays the lament of her generation (the battered Alphabet Soup) on her ever-present shield.

The movie also features first-rate scenes by a number of talented veterans. John Hart plays Gilbert Colvine, the richest man in Kenya who lives among the natives as a cattle rancher. And Trevor Howard, in his last screen role, takes the part of older statesman Jack Baines, while Geraldine Chaplin plays his disaffected wife, Nina. Captured in high-gloss, candy-colored scenes, the movie is an art director's dream, and cinematographer Roger Deakins and production designer Roger Hall evoke the period with just the right amount of excess.

Sexy and sardonic, outrageous and ironic, *White Mischief* makes for thoughtful, even provocative entertainment. By developing Fox's painstaking research and dressing up Happy Valley's unenvy yet intriguingly tragic parade of personalities, Radford has created a rich backdrop for the story. In a final dreamlike sequence, the characters assemble in a graveyard for a formal cocktail party, as requested by the will of a recently deceased member of the community. There, looking out among the tombstones, a disoriented Diana brought back gradually begins to realize what her life's contemporaries would rather ignore: that their gilded-empire is adrift—and slowly sinking in a sea of indifference.

—MICHAEL BRIGHTOFFEN

MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Indian Agents*, Ludlum (1)
- 2 *The Tomcat*, King (1)
- 3 *Kidnapped*, Steel (3)
- 4 *Reign*, Sheri (4)
- 5 *The Last Princess*, Freeman (2)
- 6 *SMA*, O'Brien Thorne, Clarke (3)
- 7 *King of the Shogun*, Zeffren (3)
- 8 *Highland*, Koster (4)
- 9 *Traveller*, Corder (3)
- 10 *The Dancer of the Vauls*, (4)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Trump: The Art of the Deal*, Trump (1)
- 2 *Elizabeth Teles*, OEL Taylor (1)
- 3 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (1)
- 4 *Traveller on Cloud*, Peters (1)
- 5 *Canada's Living*, Lockwood, Freeman (1)
- 6 *Monks*, Jackson
- 7 *Shane the Farmer*, Wilson
- 8 *The Fish*, Chisholm (1)
- 9 *What's Next?*, Krieger (1)
- 10 *Illustrated History of Canada*, edited by Brown (1)

(1) Pastors list only

—Compiled by Ron Hill-McGee

A Black Stripe on the Stars

By Allan Fotheringham

It is not easy for the mouse to be in bed with the elephant. You hardly get any sleep, for one thing. You're afraid to close off. It's not easy living next to America, the world leader in everything that's worth leading in. Canada has been called a decolonized United States because everything that arrives here watered-down America sets the fads and styles and fashions, and they eventually resurface here. We are head-on-down. Society, somewhat like the teenage leader who continually gets the clothes that don't quite fit.

How grateful, then, to finally hit upon a situation where we are No. 1. How satisfying it is to know we lead in one field and have been pioneers long in advance. Now it is the Americas who are scrambling to keep up, who are embarrassed to find they are dragging in one important area.

I speak, of course, of the area in which world leaders stir and analyze extracurricular, consult Omega boards and study the alignment of the planets. The Americans are agog with the revelations that Nancy Reagan's masculine aura/longer-than-in San Francisco outlived the schools and operations and summit meetings of the most powerful man on the globe.

This is piffle. This is nothing. Canadians are the true experts in this field. For decades we were run by a kinky little coterie who talked only in bits and pieces with the weather and built a retreat decorated by stray bits of stone and masonry that he brought back from Europe. I mean, this guy was weird.

And did he hurt the country? Of course not. All Madonna King did was to cause rifts between Canadian soldiers from Quebec whom he had promised not to send overseas and other Canadian soldiers, so as to save the nation. And here we are with a completely united and peaceful country in anyone in Quebec discontent? Of course not. It was never about him, it was about the language rights? Of course

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not. We are all goosierons, except those who are unemployed, and we all love each other, except if you're from the West, or Quebec, or the Maritimes, or Newfoundland, and as long as you don't mention Ottawa or Toronto. Madonna King did it all. He was a genius.

The Americans could learn from us. At least the White House dabbling in the occult did not include retrieving bodies from the pavement for the purpose of "having" them. Donald Brittain's brilliant secret documentary on King educated a whole new generation



of Canadians who didn't know the little man was more than slightly off-centre and didn't play with a full deck. Ronald Reagan may be lazy and slightly dotty, but he has never as far as we know tried to bring people back from the dead.

Donald Regan, the former marine who became a millionaire as boss of Merrill Lynch on Wall Street and broke the story of the White House horoscope, is mad as hell at Nancy because his outlander-friend kept faulting up Regan's schedule for the President. That's nothing. How does he think Madonna King's eldest ministers felt when the conduct of the war and the supervision of the nation were dependent on long consultations with his pet dog and conversations with Mother, who had long since gone upward to the planets?

The Americans, with their usual speed, get these things out early. Canadians didn't know at the time that they prize history, while a pretty

little backdoor, was one step removed from a stamp reader. His efforts to "reform" strumpets and tarts picked up off the streets of starchy Ottawa and taken home for a little nighttime rehabilitation were harmless compared to his beliefs in the supernatural and his stubborn insistence on talking with the dead.

American pundits complain about Regan's casual disregard for detail. They should be glad he is not a four-legged like King, who maintained such detailed diaries that we now know beyond a shadow of a doubt that he was

slightly creep. Better to keep one's mouth shut and be thought dumb, goes the old saying, than open it and remove all doubt. A Regan who can't write his own letters is safer in history than a Madonna King who prattled on in his revealing diaries.

Granted, King wasn't exactly instrumental in world affairs at the time. But Canada was a Middle Power (wherever did that phrase go?) with King sitting there next to heads Churchill and Roosevelt at these wartime conferences. Did they know he went home and played with taret cards? Were they aware a speech who talked to ghosts was sitting in on their deliberations? Who knows. His wasn't important enough to figure in Churchill's writings, and run left on nothing to derive into.

Suffice to say that we are willing to help the Americans. Put aside the differences we have with the cultural differences (that our doctors are firm peepers among other things). Forget all the troubles the mouse has with the elephant. Put aside the resentments over being led like Mao and Yasser Arafat and an American vice president who should be in Little League. Banish from the mind and away.

Let us be magnanimous. These are our friends. They are confused and chagrined at being caught out—that their boss has been in the hands of a gothral in San Francisco. Let us extend the olive branch. Let us say that you are confused about your leadership, come and talk to us. We're Canadians. We're experts in this field.

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